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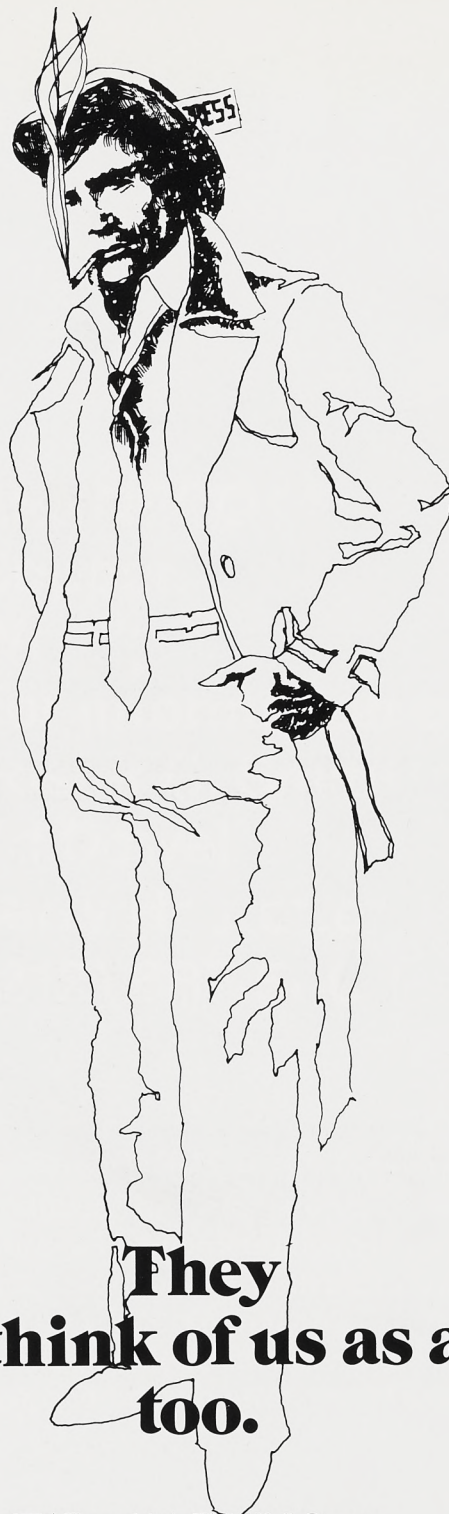
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The National Magazine Awards, presented by the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism. Visual Excellence Award for political covers during 1973 and for the Dec. 24, 1973, special issue on "Arts in America." (Newsweek was the first newsweekly to win the award, in 1968, and is now the only news magazine to have won two NMAs.) **Nw** National Headliners Club Award to the magazine for Watergate coverage. **Nw** National Headliners Club Award to Shana Alexander. **Nw** White House News Photographers Association Annual Award to Wally McNamee as 1974 Photographer of the Year. **Nw** WHNPA first prize in the Presidential Class to Wally McNamee for a portrait of Richard Nixon. **Nw** WHNPA first prize in Personalities Class to Wally McNamee for a photo of Leonid Brezhnev. **Nw** WHNPA third prize in the Watergate Class to Wally McNamee for a photo of the Senate Committee. **Nw** Overseas Press Club Citation (shared with Time) for coverage of the Middle East War and the oil crisis. **Nw** New York Women in Communications Matrix Award to Shana Alexander as one of six outstanding women in the communications industry. **Nw** Newspaper Guild of New York Page One Special Award for the special issue, "Arts in America." **Nw** Newspaper Guild of New York Page One Award to Arnaud deBorchgrave for an interview with Anwar Sadat. **Nw** Aviation/Space Writers Association first prize to Peter Gwynne for a series on Skylab I. **Nw** Sigma Delta Chi Deadline Club Special Achievement award for the cover story "America's Energy Crisis" written by David Pauly. **Nw** Detroit Press Club Foundation first prize to Jim Jones for "The Non-Organization Man." **Nw** Thoroughbred Racing Association Eclipse Award to Pete Axthelm for "Superhorse Secretariat." **Nw** National Association of Recycling Industries Media Award to Rona Cherry for the business article "Using Them Again." **Nw** National Society for Autistic Children Award to Matt Clark for "The Troubled Child." **Nw** ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award to General Editor Hubert Saal for "Music: Out of Tune with Today?" **Nw** G. M. Loeb Award to Henry Wallich.

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DATELINE 1975 • A PUBLICATION OF THE OVERSEAS
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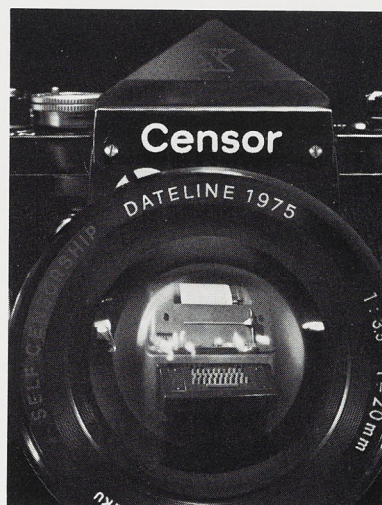
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A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

by JACK RAYMOND

In 1969 the National Press Club in Washington elected John W. (Pat) Heffernan of Reuters (and a long-time member of the Overseas Press Club of America) as NPC president, only to discover an obstacle in local Washington, D.C. laws. The NPC liquor license was jeopardized because of a legal restriction against its being held by a club whose chief officer was an alien. Pat is a British citizen.

The regulations were altered by Congress to permit Heffernan's assumption of office. The irony of that incident is that until this year our own club requirements prevented Heffernan and others who work for foreign-owned media from being classified as active members of the OPC.

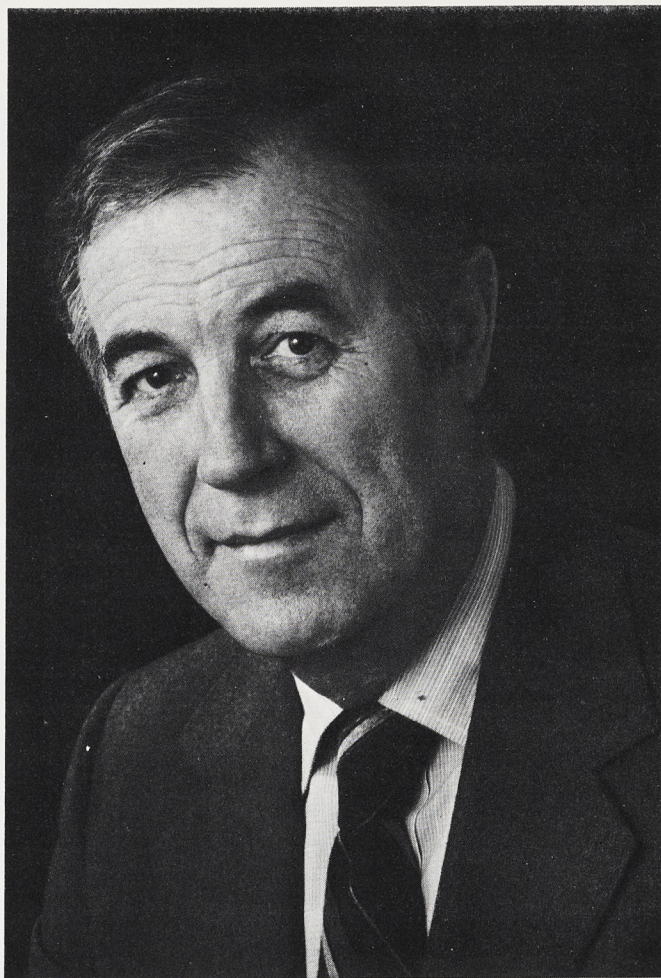
Until this year active membership in the OPC has been "open (some said, limited) to currently employed reporters, writers, editors, photographers and most stringers and frequently published freelance writers engaged in news, feature or interpretative coverage for American-owned media."

The members of the OPC voted overwhelmingly in January to strike the condition of American ownership from that membership category, thus facilitating the transfer to active membership, on request, of many associate members. More important perhaps, it opened the membership rolls to many professionals in this country and abroad whose reluctance to join the OPC was based solely on their unwillingness to join as associate members.

The constitutional change is one of several during the year that reflect our efforts to broaden the base of our membership and professional activities. The Overseas Press Club co-sponsored a Headliner Luncheon with the Foreign Press Association, a fifty-seven-year-old organization with some 375,000 members, mostly foreign newsmen residing in New York. The OPC is being used as a meeting place by both the Correspondents Fund and Sigma Delta Chi (The Deadline Club). The City Club, one of the most prestigious public affairs organizations in New York, has been putting on news-making programs in its regular luncheons at the OPC, as well as subleasing office space. Our own Overseas Press Club Foundation has revived its program with a newly constituted board of directors.

These are significant considerations in the slow and often painful rejuvenation of the OPC itself. We are by no means home free financially, and we probably will not be for a long time. Not unlike other professional organizations, we find these recession/depression days parlous, an adjective for which I beg forgiveness on grounds it is no more archaic than depressions are supposed to be.

But while other professional clubs have gone under, we



are enjoying our thirty-sixth anniversary year—our second year in the very handsome quarters in the Biltmore Hotel.

And this issue of *Dateline*, on the occasion of our Annual Awards Dinner, is further testimonial to the continued vibrancy of the idea of the club, dedicated to "common professional and social interests"; "to the highest standards of independence, democracy and professional skill."

This year, in keeping with a cherished OPC practice, *Penthouse* magazine was responsible for the editorial and art production of *Dateline*, thus relieving the club of a major administrative and financial burden. We welcomed *Penthouse*, the nation's fastest-growing magazine, confident that its editors would maintain the high standards of past *Dateline* producers. And they came up with a characteristically provocative theme, the media's "self-censorship."

Inevitably, the main feature of *Dateline* is the section devoted to the talented journalists who won 1974 OPC awards and who were honored at the Annual Awards Dinner.

Since this is written in advance of their selection—indeed, I have made it a practice to remain ignorant not only of the winners until the night of the dinner, but also of the identity of members of the committees of distinguished journalists who select them—I limit my comments to one I have repeatedly made: the OPC awards are beyond doubt the most respected in journalism next to the Pulitzer Prizes. We feel honored by the respect that has accrued to them over the years and regard them as a public trust.

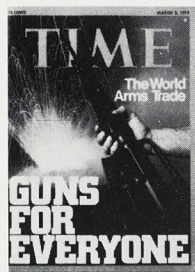
One award winner I did know in advance. That was the recipient of the OPC President's Award, an award that is not made each year but only when the OPC president, on his own decision, finds a meritorious recipient. I made no selection last year. This year I selected Lowell Thomas, a former OPC president, one of the great journalists of our time, eighty-three years old this year, still broadcasting the news, still going strong. ■

TK

In the wake of Watergate the President resigns, and his successor pardons him. Pierre Trudeau is re-elected, and his young wife openly reveals her psychiatric problems. Betty Ford and then Happy Rockefeller set examples of courage following mastectomy operations. Muhammed Ali easily breaks up George Foreman before daybreak in Zaire. The Turks and Greeks renew old hostilities over Cyprus. Inflation continues to rise as the recession deepens. The petrodollar, a new diplomatic and economic force, makes its powerful presence felt worldwide. Etc., etc.

If 1974 seemed to be the year that was, just wait. There's more TK in 1975, much more from Time Inc. magazines.

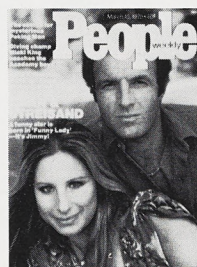
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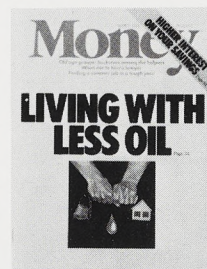
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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

I am very pleased that PENTHOUSE was selected to produce DATELINE 75. We selected the theme of censorship and self-censorship in the media because we have long been convinced that the American people are not getting the full story of what our government--local and national--is really up to. Hopefully, the articles in this issue will help prod our various news media into a greater awareness that their first responsibility is to their readers and viewers, and not to those who hold the reins of power.

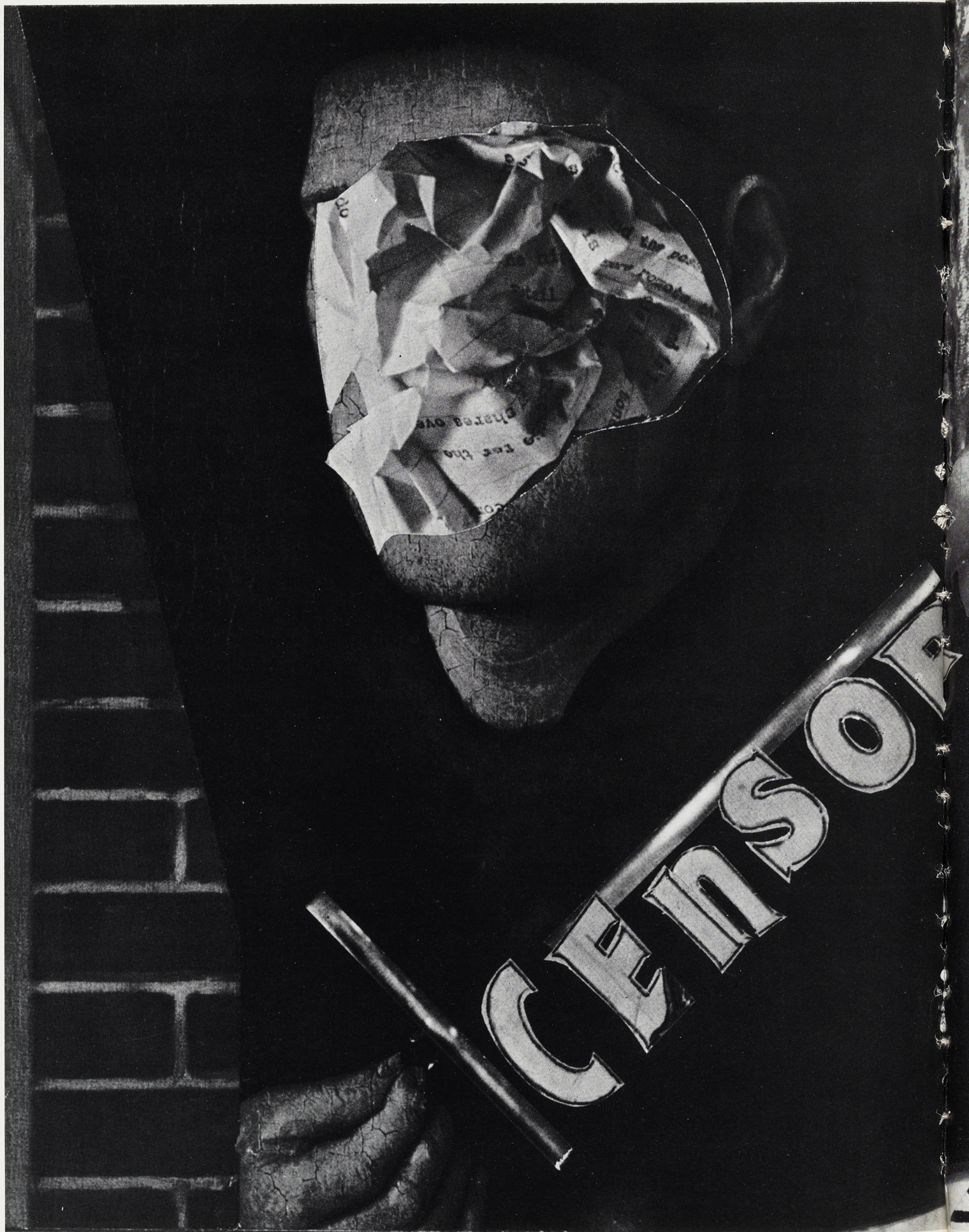
We at PENTHOUSE are certainly trying to meet this responsibility. We have, for example, been running articles every month for over a year on the plight of our Vietnam veterans--those "prisoners of peace" who fought for us our most unpopular war and were promptly forgotten after they returned home. We intend to continue these articles until these men get the justice they deserve.


In another sense, we are also trying to bring to justice the killers of President John Kennedy. Penthouse Press has published George O'Toole's book THE ASSASSINATION TAPES, and last month our magazine printed an excerpt from this book, which presented scientific evidence for the first time that Lee Harvey Oswald was telling the truth when he said that he never killed anyone.

The CIA, on the other hand, is certainly responsible for many thousands of deaths, in addition to helping overthrow legitimate governments around the world and spying on American citizens here at home. Because we feel that the abuses of our "Intelligence Community" are more threatening to the country than even those of Nixon and his men, we are beginning in our May issue a series of articles on this subject by America's best reporters. Harrison Salisbury's "The Gentlemen Killers of the CIA" leads off the series, with future articles by Tad Szulc, Joe Treaster, Peter Arnett, and David Harris, among others.

We would hope, then, that this issue of DATELINE 75 will prove to be the beginning of a year in which all the news media attempt to break away totally from self-censorship. We all have been timid about speaking out because of the illusion that we were thus being more "fair." News cannot be fair. It can only strive to be true--and complete.

From: **James Goode,**
Executive Editor,
Penthouse





NEWSPAPER SELF- CENSORSHIP 'A JOYOUS COLLUSION'

By JAMES DALE DAVIDSON

A newspaper is sort of a junk shop of print. It has something to sell: scraps of information, ideas, data, stock quotations, political oratory, batting averages, the phone numbers of desolate dog owners who have lost their "blond, male, mixed breed, part small collie" with a "long, fur, plume tail." The newspaper, especially the standard metropolitan daily, thrives on the diversity of its product. It peddles much, aspiring to the illusionary task made famous in the boast of the *New York Times* that it provides "all the news that's fit to print."

Of course, no newspaper provides "all the news." Even the fattest of Sunday editions reports only an infinitesimal cross section of human happenings. How and why newspapers leave out what is left out is the subject of this analysis.

Little consideration need be given to why newspapers fail to report most of the billions of facts and "factoids" that conceivably could be reported. They are ignored precisely because they deserve ignoring. They are of scant interest to anyone, (including possibly the persons in whose lives they occur. No one cares whether the president of the United States, much less Alex Comfort, has rubbed his hand upon his forehead on some occasion during the day.

That newspapers ignore, for the most part, most of what goes on, shows simply that they are good peddlers, and do not load up with merchandise that will not sell. Only a handful of leading dailies would conceivably carry a story if the King of Tonga, as he recently did, were to claim sovereignty over a freehold island in the New Hebrides. About the only foreign events that are given attentive coverage are the wars and machinations of our own government, and those of its close allies and current enemies. The three million persons who have been killed in wars among poor nations since World War II died in struggles that the average American never knew existed.

James Dale Davidson is a writer and political observer in Washington.

The same sagacity that excludes jejune detail, insulates us from metaphysics in the daily press. Charles Parsons's article, "Informal Axiomatization, Formalization and the Concept of Truth," is too obtuse even for the *New York Times*. The informal rule for publishing seems to be that no twelve-year-old should be wallowing beyond his depths when he picks up the newspaper. And that may not be all bad. The average person is no scholar and no metaphysician. Even with today's depreciated currency, he would not plop down an investment of fifteen cents for a newspaper that made the mistake of supposing otherwise.

Catering to the market explains why the vast majority of logically possible stories is not newspaper material. What it does not explain is why newspapers choose to voluntarily eliminate or overlook stories of interest to readers. Why, for example, did the *Washington Post* not publish the parade of stories that has been known to reporters over the years about the drunken indiscretions of our nation's lawmakers? Why did the *New York Times* kill a story that appeared to authenticate charges linking the mayor of San Francisco with the Mafia? And why did the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* long refuse to mention the existence of a dog track? These are examples, along with an infinity of others, of so-called self-censorship, a self-imposed restraint in newspaper coverage that excludes from print stories that might have had an equal or better claim to the readers' attentions than the often uninspiring articles that are published.

What are the motivating factors in apparent cases of self-censorship? There are many.

In some cases where reporters or newspapers decline to pass along stories that would reflect unfavorably upon the powerful, the explanation may be that apparent self-restraint is exercised in the face of possible retaliation. Our governments—federal, state, and local—may not have official censors of the sort who predominate in other lands, but it may still be unwise to invite the ire of those in power. In the famous Pentagon Papers case, for example, the Nixon administration invited the *Times* to exercise self-censorship by not publishing classified Pentagon documents. When the *Times* declined and proceeded to publish them, it did so at the cost of a court battle. In the event that the *Times's* management had declined to go forward, the consideration could well have been more to avoid the costs of implied censorship than because of a reasoned judgment that the material should not be printed.

Robert Nixon, who covered the Roosevelt White House for the International News Service, told CBS news that reporters were effectively barred from disclosing FDR's affairs with Lucy Rutherford

and Princess Martha of Norway by the widespread belief that to do so would result in automatic retaliation. Robert Nixon told CBS that, "Well, you know, if you're a White House correspondent, you're there at the sufferance of the White House. You have to have credentials provided by them after being cleared by the Secret Service. And all you have to do, if you really get out of line, is for them to lift your credentials, and where are you? Out on the street." This fear of potential harassment could loom large in the minds of those who decline to publish material embarrassing to those in power.

Las Vegas *Sun* publisher Hank Greenspun may be one of those who has experienced political retaliation for not exercising sufficient "self-censorship." Greenspun's protracted encounters with the IRS, if they were not meant to serve as an object lesson, could well have had that effect.

Implied censorship may be an even larger factor in certain states and localities where Byzantine intrigue and corruption of local politicians often goes unreported. When local politicians control tax assessment and other factors affecting the prosperity of the paper, it can become imprudent to devote too much attention to investigative journalism. To do so runs the risk of having the local tax assessor jack up the real property assessment on the paper's printing plant, or the homes of newspaper personnel. Short of that, the newspaper might even be kept in line by fear of losing revenues from publication of legal notices of tax sales and contracts for storm sewers and dog pounds.

Despite the massive assembled powers of our various governments and their undoubted ability to put any business out of business, including newspapers, it is unlikely that implied censorship accounts for much of what is left out. The newspapers are not that grudging. They are generally glad to put a good face on things, they need not be inspired by threats.

In some instances, it just plain pays to go along. Unvarnished graft plays a substantial part in some instances of "self-censorship." Reporters and editors have it in their power to harm or help. In many instances, potentially damaged parties are ready to strike a bargain by paying newspapermen not to write or print a story. The crooked reporter is an old motif in detective literature. And with good reason. There are crooked reporters, but there is little way of knowing how widespread the graft is. By its very nature it is difficult to assess how frequently it occurs.

It is not uncommon, especially in Southern states, for newspaper publishers to be individuals of wide business interests, interests that seldom suffer on account of newspaper publishing. How many stock deals, real estate transactions, and spe-

cial partnerships have been created as a subtle or not-so-subtle form of bribery is impossible to estimate. But rumor has it that that is the way business is done. The normally feeble investigative instincts of the local Southern newspapers are further atrophied by assuring the newspaper of a share of whatever action there is to investigate.

One instance of a transaction that gives all the appearance, if not the substance of such working, involved the disposition of the surplus properties belonging to Brookley Air Force Base in Mobile, Alabama. When its magnificent landing strips, along with its other installations, were to be disposed of under the Surplus Properties Act, shrewd business interests recognized the opportunity to get something for nothing. A division of the Teledyne corporation arranged to become the recipient of much of the base's excellent motor repair facility. International Paper Company got the base's choice climate-controlled warehouses. Lear Siegler, known informally as "Jerry Ford's Company" because of his statesmanlike promotion of its interests, shared in the aircraft facilities. Another powerful local interest was anxious to receive the contract for pouring the concrete necessary to modernize and extend the runways on the city's ancient municipal airport. Rather than utilize the ultra-modern runways at Brookley Field, the committee appointed to oversee disposition of the property came up with another plan more akin to "the public interest." The committee decided that these runways, six and one-half feet deep, and so large that a private plane can land cross-wise on the strip, should be chopped up. They were then to be used as an expansion site for an adjoining graveyard, a graveyard owned by the publisher of Mobile's only newspaper, the *Press-Register*. Needless to say, the people of Mobile have never been treated to any investigative journalism highlighting the circumstances under which hundreds of millions of dollars worth of property at Brookley Field was distributed in a way "to best serve the interests of the community."

Similar economic considerations, if with less apparent conflict of interest, serve to encourage a "golden silence" in which newspapers allow their coverage to reflect the need to maximize advertising revenue. Since most newspapers are heavily dependent upon advertising income, many are understandably sensitive to the lure of a buck. In a company town, such as Marietta, Georgia, where many local businesses are conscious of the fact that Lockheed is the prime employer, there is little reporting in the *Daily Journal* on the evils of overruns on defense contracts. The same could be said of reporting in other God-fearing communities. In San Diego, the *Union*, which is read by large numbers of military per-



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sonnel, is sanguine beyond belief about anything reflecting favorably on the military—the dominant local employer.

In some instances, the "golden silence" takes on more subtle forms. Almost every newspaper is published in a city or town, or at least in a spot in the road wide enough to accommodate a car dealership and a real estate broker. In the major markets, there are many car dealers and many real estate brokers. These good folk are anxious to sell their products, and when they do they seem to put a larger number of equally deserving folk to work building new cars and new homes. All of this activity leads to advertising revenue, which in turn leads to special real estate and automotive sections in the newspaper, where ostensible news stories appear that are really puff pieces for the industries placing the advertisement. Even major dailies, which may have special reporters looking into the real estate market or paying a visit to auto shows, have an incentive to continue what Nicholas von Hoffman has called "joyous collusion." The papers do not normally need to turn to conscious self-censorship to exclude articles unfavorable to buying homes or automobiles. It may never occur to them that such articles are possible or that there are perfectly valid considerations that would inhibit a reader from purchasing now, and which in fact would make it far more sensible to postpone a major purchase for several years. But to advise the reader to wait to buy a home could put half the real estate brokers in town out of business. That would limit advertising revenue. So when the home market gets a bit brittle the real estate business can count on no more enthusiastic allies than the major newspapers who want to encourage as much turnover as possible. The *Washington Star* went so far as to take out radio advertisements on behalf of no real estate broker in particular to entreat listeners "that there will never be a better time to buy a home." That is "joyous collusion."

Outside of the narrowly economic motives, the other motives behind self-censorship are more complex and debatable. Where the larger issues of social and economic stability are involved, the motive for repressing or failing to pursue stories is more likely than not a genuine enthusiasm for keeping things under control, rather than a perception that chaos in the streets would be bad for the newspaper business. The scandalously poor reporting of major economic news that directly affects every reader of major newspapers provides a compelling example. During the summer of 1974, when news of the Franklin National Bank's liquidity crisis began to dribble out, the Federal Reserve Board met to discuss the liquidity of the banking system in general. The Board's agenda included discussion of the problems of more than sixty major

banks that could conceivably have ended as flat broke as the Franklin. The list of illiquid banks became known but no newspaper ever published it, or attempted to reconstruct it through investigation. The reason for not reporting, where there was a reason, was evidently that to do so might precipitate a banking crisis by placing a strain on the banks' reserve from panic withdrawals. (A not insignificant, but hardly determining, element may have been the fact that newspapers, like most other businesses, are net debtors. They need cooperation from banks to continue turning over instruments of debt. To cause a stress on the banks would be a good way to close channels of credit.)

Another factor was that it is technically illegal to publish reports that call into question the liquidity of the Federal Reserve System. This law is not enforced because it doesn't need to be. But at some point it could conceivably become as much of a factor in publication of news as are laws barring publication of classified military information.

The failure of the newspapers to report the bank liquidity crisis could be likened to the *New York Times's* decision not to publish critical knowledge in its possession during the Cuban missile crisis were it not for the fact that most newspapers honestly did not know that the banking crisis they failed to report ever existed.

Much of the recurring self-censorship arises from a sense of responsibility. Columnist Jack Anderson, for example, censored his column so that information provided there could not prove detrimental to a ship carrying military cargo to the Far East. Anderson knew the name of a ship and its ports of call, but avoided printing the details from fear that "some nut would toss a bomb aboard."

In another Cambodia-related incident, [MORE], the journalism review, ran a report, denied vigorously by the *New York Times*, that *Times* editors killed a story at the request of Henry Kissinger exposing United States plans to invade Cambodia. An inconclusive debate between the *Times* and John Marks, author of the [MORE] report, proved only that if the *Times* indeed killed its story to protect the invasion, its sense of responsibility has since been altered sufficiently that it regrets doing so.

Self-censorship imposed from a sense of responsibility to avoid jeopardizing a life was the case in a slightly different context when John Ingersoll, head of the Drug Enforcement Administration, intervened with Jack Anderson to urge that he censor a story of international narcotics traffic. Anderson had information that a friendly nation's narcotics chief was "wallowing in bed with the Mafia. We even had transcripts of the conversations. Ingersoll called us and said one of their

agents would be killed if we printed the story because he was present when the conversations took place. It was a late-night call, highly unusual. So we worked out a compromise with him so as not to endanger a life."

This is a standard of self-censorship that is maintained frequently on a local level in cooperation with police departments. Newspapers voluntarily withhold details of crimes, and sometimes the names of victims, so as to avoid causing more grief, or suggesting sufficient detail to allow clever crimes to be repeated.

Although standards differ, most publications exert some self-censorship to give public personalities the benefit of a private life. This is as it should be. It is tasteless to broadcast the insignificant aspect of any individual's behavior. But where does the line between significance and insignificance begin? Certainly quarterbacks and restaurateurs deserve a wider latitude of personal privacy than that accorded to politicians who have set themselves up to rule the lives of others. As *New York Times* reporter Eileen Shanahan has said publicly: "A senator who's passing our laws, and especially if he's the chairman of a major committee, is a lush or is so busy chasing girls he isn't half paying attention to work—that's the public's business even if he's the only one in town." Her attitude is hardly that which informs editorial policies on the major papers. As she points out, "Editors all over this country tend to require a higher standard of proof from reporters when we're dealing with what they regard as personal matters." In the case of the *Washington Post*, those higher standards include more evidence than would normally be required to convict someone of bank robbery. Two separate corroborating sources of evidence usually must be available before the *Post* will print charges about the private lives of politicians. These exclusive standards have protected the public from learning notorious details of the drunkenness and sexual indiscretions of the high and mighty in Washington. Many of the gentlemen we trust to write our laws are being bribed for votes with call girls supplied by lobbyists, or falling down drunk as former President Nixon was reputed to on his Camp David weekends with Bebe Rebozo. Since they present a front to their infatuated electorates of being as circumspect as Cotton Mather, the failure of the media to report otherwise is a species of fraud.

We know from the proliferation of pulp magazines that there is indeed a market for such reports. Yet the newspapers never seem to be willing to pony up the details that readers are obviously anxious to read and entitled to know. When CBS commentator Mike Wallace questioned *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee about the *Post's* failure

to report examples of obvious drunkenness on the part of senators and congressmen, Bradlee responded in this revealing exchange:

BRADLEE: . . . if a member of Congress in the—on the floor of the—of the Senate or on the floor of the House was lurching around and making no damn sense at all, I think that that is worth printing.

WALLACE: And how often have you?

BRADLEE: I have not.

If the suggestion is that congressmen do not lurch around the floor of the House or Senate making no damn sense, the truth can easily be seen to be otherwise by spending a few moments in the press galleries of either of those distinguished institutions.

The case of Wilbur Mills provides a good illustration of self-censorship. Although the Washington papers eventually carried reports of Wilbur's nocturnal episodes, they did so only after he had gone to the extreme of racing through the town at midnight with his headlights out and battling with his stripper friend in a drunken brawl. The *Post* carried the story, but only several days after the fact when reports had appeared on television. When the details filtered back to Wilbur's astounded constituents in Little Rock, many were shocked, but they were willing to forgive such an aberration because they believed it was an aberration. Wilbur was reelected. And then he went almost directly from his victory party to a burlesque stage in Boston, and then into a hospital for treatment of chronic alcoholism. Was this the true Mills, or was he the hardworking Baptist family man who cultivated an image of rushing home at night to read the IRS code?

Stories of the sexual indiscretions of government officials are also taboo. Columnist Maxine Cheshire had information that there was a homosexual ring "involving the highest people in the Nixon White House," but it was never reported for lack of double corroboration. Columnist Nicholas von Hoffman wrote a story of a young female employee of Congress who was forced to quit her job because she did not want to go to bed with her congressman. Readers of the *Los Angeles Free Press* learned, as von Hoffman said, that if there is no truth on Capitol Hill, at least there is beauty when they read "law-makers on the make." But readers who follow von Hoffman's column in the *Washington Post* never saw the article.

Privacy as a criterion for self-censorship also applies on occasion to block publication of stories that delve into the personal finances of public figures. When former Vice President Spiro Agnew, sometime after leaving office, was preparing to sell the house in which he lived, a reporter for the Baltimore *Sun* papers developed a story that later appeared in other papers to the effect that some portion of the appreciation that Agnew was realiz-

ing on the sale of his house came from taxpayers' expenditures for "security" of the same sort made for Mr. Nixon at San Clemente. Agnew did not want such a story to run and called publisher William F. Schmick, Jr. to complain that it would be an invasion of privacy. The story was killed.

The distinction between self-censorship and editorial monitoring of the content of newspapers for political reasons is vague. Clearly, editors have the right to use discretion in printing the news, as indeed they have the right to "self-censor" any story to their heart's desire. Yet this does not necessarily make for a well-informed populace. In nations where explicit censorship is imposed, it most frequently serves to enforce political orthodoxy. The crabbed bureaucratic censor, with his red pencil and scissors, could be no more effective in filtering out certain lines of thought and information than is the newspaper that voluntarily conforms to a species of self-censorship. In the case of self-censorship, there is no embarrassment caused by newspapers printed with blank pages, or unaccount-

"Newspapers fail to provide explanations for what troubles people. The public now seeks it from new, less credible sources."

ably missing editions. The self-censor, as opposed to the censor, does not place an artificial premium upon thoughts that fall outside his dispensation. When enforcing political conformism is entrusted to an official censor, his very actions focus attention in the long run upon the more radical opposing viewpoints, both because the process of censorship naturally poses the censored view as the alternative to the received opinion, and because the persons holding the more militant views are better suited than their more moderate competitors to withstand the rigors of purveying banned opinions. The result of the unnatural competition over a long period of time is that seen most recently in Portugal, where decades of rigid right-wing censorship were successful in smothering democratic trade unionists, but helped the Communist Party thrive. This is not true of self-censorship.

When newspapers distort the news for purposes of naked partisanship, their bias is overt and thus more benign than the more subtle forms of political self-censorship that I shall take up further on. That

there is overt partisanship in news reporting is undoubted. The *Manchester Union Leader* all but runs New Hampshire. And that degree of political control is not confined to the journalistic backwaters. The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* have influenced an election or two themselves. When former Senator Joseph Tydings analyzed the defeat of longtime Virginia Congressman Joel Broyhill, he described the cause in three words: "the *Washington Post*." Over the years the *Post* had utilized acres of space to print stories unfavorable to Broyhill, a rather unvarnished conservative, but the bare minimum to anything that might be construed to his favor. This technique is effective, if it is a bit less brazenly employed now than earlier in American history.

H L. Mencken's colorful recollection of his early days at the Baltimore *Sun* papers provides a case in point. The publisher of that day, Charles H. Grasty, was a mortal enemy of Baltimore's mayor, J. Harry Preston. Mencken recalled, "No story was too incredible to be printed, and no criticism too trivial or irresponsible. If the Blackamoors in the deathhouse at the Baltimore City Jail had signed a round robin accusing him of sending them poison in cornpone or snuff, it would have gone into type at once."

The blatant, rambunctious partisanship that Mencken described as the "journalistic code of the time" does not account for the larger, spontaneous self-censorship of reports and ideas that might be politically destabilizing. The partisanship of newspapers is pretty much beside the point. Democrat or Republican, they are all united by an enthusiastic desire to avoid writing stories that question the efficacy of what all politicians are doing. For example, less than one-third (27 percent) of America's dailies have even a shared correspondent in Washington. The vast majority does not. They have no investigative reporting on what goes on in Washington. When the Capitol Hill News Service was founded to offer newspapers without sufficient financial resources a means to find out more about what their congressmen, not to mention the whole of government, was up to, the CHNS organizers quickly found that many papers did not want to know. The editor of the Levelland, Texas *Daily Sun*, Lyn-dell Kenley, explained why he did not wish to subscribe: "Your stories on campaign fund-raising were a little too muck-rakish for me. They made people look bad."

This luminous desire to avoid muck-raking that might make "people"—not to mention the system—"look bad" is largely responsible for the growing gap between the public's concerns about issues and its ability to make sense of them through normal information channels. The nation's newspapers serve as

a reality filter that goes a long way toward shaping the public's perception of current life. By consistently failing to report data or interpretations that offer explanations for the phenomena that are troubling people, the media in general, and the newspapers in particular, are stimulating the American people to behave like people who suffer under overt political censorship. We are beginning to be like Russians or Spaniards or Ugandans. We rely increasingly upon rumors and word-of-mouth explanations for developments in our economic and political life.

Consider the evidence of a growing market for rumors. Almost anyone can establish a new rumor journal and it will sell. Scandal sheets are shifting focus from stories like those that predominated in the early days of the *National Enquirer*: "I CUT MY BABY'S EAR OFF AND ATE IT." Today's *National Enquirer* has moved on to more responsible journalism, while its imitators, such as *National Tattler* and *National Star*, are focusing ever more attention on political matters. They publish revisionist stories about political assassinations and current events, and repeat rumors of conniving and conspiracy at the expense of the public. Like Mae Brussell's *Conspiracy Letter*, the popular scandal sheet now devotes itself to speculations about who is "really" behind developments in current events and what they "really" mean.

For example, in June 1974 *National Tattler* published a story with a blazing front-page headline: "NO GOLD LEFT IN FORT KNOX." The subhead read: "FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM CHARGED WITH SECRET SALE OF U.S. GOLD SUPPLIES TO SUPER-RICH DAVID ROCKEFELLER." The essence of the charge was that a cabal of wealthy bankers, headed by David Rockefeller, was manipulating monetary policy so as to rip off the Fort Knox gold supply. In spite of the fact that there appeared to be no definite or factual basis for the story, the denials of the banking authorities did not convince the *National Tattler*. Robert J. Sorrentino, its editor, insisted that his publication would continue to print stories on the "missing gold." So great was the public acceptance of the tale that Congress was inundated by mail. Finally, a seven-man delegation of congressmen, accompanied by one-hundred newsmen, visited Fort Knox on September 2, 1974, to satisfy themselves that the gold was still there.

The fact that the public, or at least a large segment of the public, is ready to believe that the gold could be stolen from Fort Knox indicates not so much a widespread credulity as an alarming decline in the credibility of normal media channels. The news media, and newspapers in particular, have failed to provide explanations for what troubles people to the extent that the public now seeks information from new, formerly less

credible sources. The sociological landscape necessary for rumors to flourish, as communications expert Professor Ralph Rosnow has pointed out, is one where events are important but "news is lacking or ambiguous."

To develop coherent and satisfactory explanations for the phenomena of contemporary life, especially the average man's declining standard of living, newspapers will have to assume a more "muckrakash" perspective. Sometimes, of course, the complexities of investigative reporting would seem to exceed the tolerance of the average man for detail. But that need not be the case. People will read and think about information if it promises to mean something to them. The ready market for rumors about the Federal Reserve Board being controlled by David Rockefeller would seem to indicate that a market exists for thoughtful newspaper journalism to explain what the Board actually is and how it operates. With inflation and economic troubles foremost in the minds of most persons, the hesitation of newspapers to report on the activities of the central bank engenders the limitation on knowledge aspired to by censors in banana republics who prohibit reports from the printing presses where paper money is being stamped out. If there is a difference, it is that populations of banana republics eventually dope out that inflation is caused by government. Here, we are still wondering.

The willingness of the press to hold back economic and political news that reflects unfavorably on the system is by no means confined to obscure details of banking and money creation. Several years ago, after the massive cost overruns on the Lockheed Corporation's defense contracts came to public attention, the government decided to do something about it, something that was never reported. A bailout began that resulted in \$1-billion being given to Lockheed under public law 85-804. The president simply declared that Lockheed's contracts were to be "amended without consideration" so as to give the company more money. Reporters from the *Washington Post* and other major newspapers knew details of this giveaway. But no story appeared anywhere for more than a year and a half until a brief mention at the bottom of a longer story showed up in the *New York Times*. The press did report the debate about whether the government should guarantee a loan of \$250-million to Lockheed—a big story—but not the more embarrassing fact that a billion dollars had slipped through the floor. Talking about that would have made people "look bad."

The long-held supposition that the newspapers constitute an informal "fourth branch of government" has much truth to it. As that eminent friend of government Professor Irving Kristol has writ-

ten, the newspapers, by selection of what news is to be reported are actually "participating in the exercise of political power." Such participation, which made the newspapers a functioning part of the political establishment, gave them the responsibility, according to Kristol, of "presenting the news first of all from the point of view of those who governed. . . ."

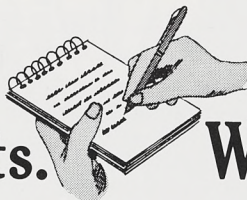
That they do. In spite of the Watergate Scandal, the Agnew Scandal, and all the other assorted instances of lying, cheating, and stealing, both published and unpublished, at high echelons of government, newspapers are still taken up with the decorum of power. They dutifully reprint press releases, government announcements, Pentagon briefings, and most of the other government hints as to what policies and events "really" mean. To this the newspapers add the special burden in that they have long prided themselves on acting to "enlighten" the public. But this "enlightenment" usually extends no further than to agitate on behalf of some current project or cause desired by those who rule—though not necessarily by the masses. The current "enlightenment" on the energy crisis is a case in point. The average person is being indoctrinated by the universal clamor of the newspapers for some "solution" to the "energy crisis" that will come right out of his hide. It may be "enlightenment" to push for rationing, taxes, tariffs, or quotas. But if it is, it is the latest in a long series of "enlightening" examples to justify Michael Novak's observation that "one man's enlightenment is another man's bullshit."

When we peep into the "junk shop of print" that is our newspaper, we find more than mere data. We find the spare parts from which our larger paradigm of reality is formed. If our paper were to carry a bold headline, "FLYING SAUCER LANDS IN WASHINGTON, KIDNAPS 174 DRUNKEN, LECHEROUS CONGRESSMEN," then suddenly much of what we now think impossible would be rendered real. Conversely, if flying saucers were to land, and we were not told, or even if there are 174 drunken, lecherous Congressmen whose true characters are hidden by the press, then what was nevertheless real would be misunderstood.

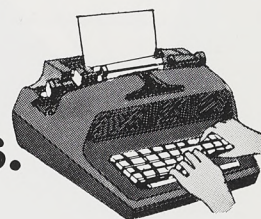
If our view of reality, so heavily conditioned by the newspapers, is substantially distorted, then to that extent our world does not make sense. When we cannot read in our papers about much of the lying, cheating, stealing and carousing that motivates the better part of our political life, it makes little difference to our bafflement whether the information which we never received was excluded because of explicit government censorship, or through self-censorship, that "joyous collusion" between the informal "fourth branch of government" and the other three. ■

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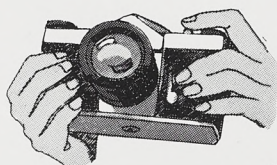
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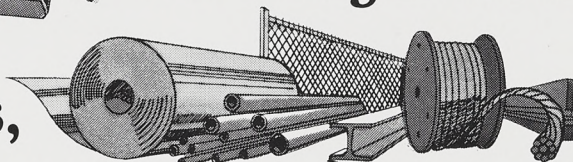


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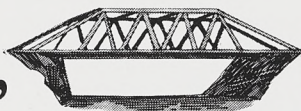
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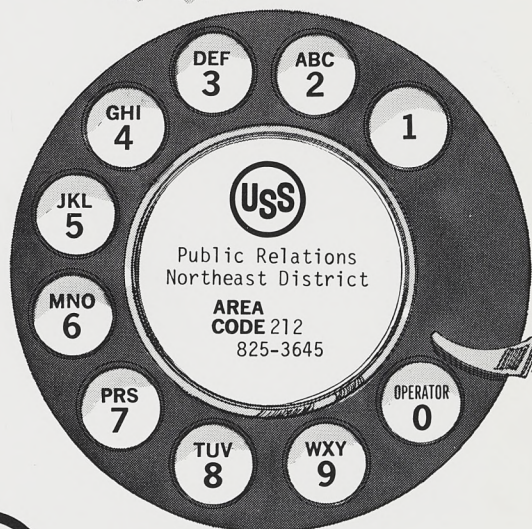


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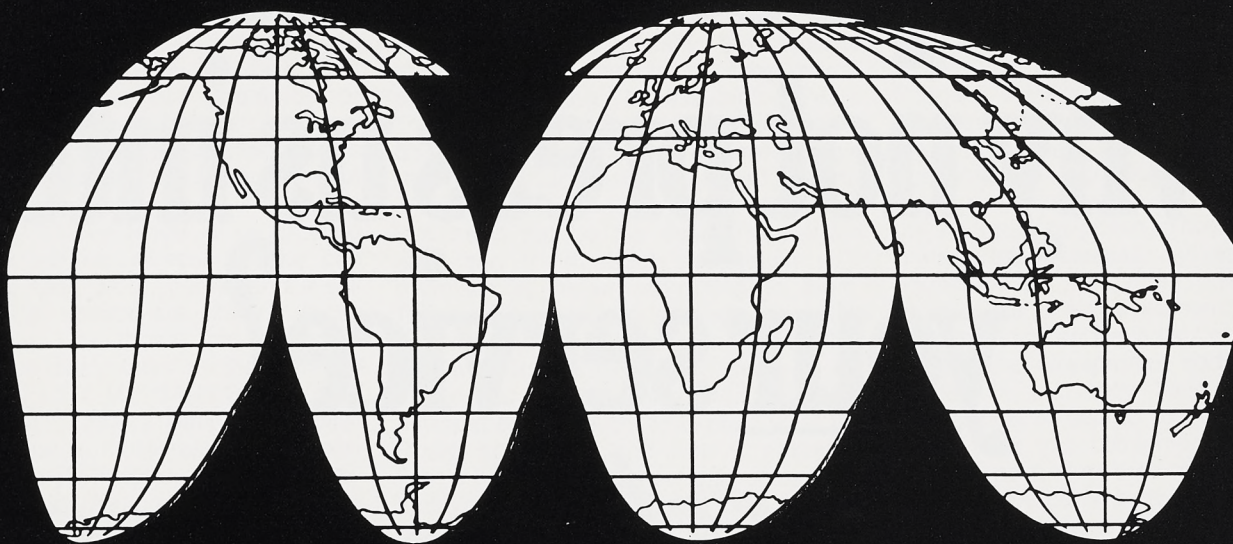
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TELEVISION JOURNALISM THROUGH THE TUBE DIMLY

By FRED FERRETTI

Did CBS corporate executives order Dan Rather to ease off on Richard Nixon the night the president resigned? Rather isn't talking and CBS says that any deductions which lead to that conclusion are speculative. But the fact remains that Rather—who for most of Nixon's six years in the White House was a persistent gadfly—was soft as silk that night, praising with almost a wet eye the greatness of the departing president, the statesmanship of his parting address, the security of his place in history. It remained for Roger Mudd to save CBS's news image.

The whole sorry performance was a nationwide embarrassment, but it was typical, even predictable, for television. The history of commercial networks and public television during the Nixon years, and to some extent even today, is one of cowardice in the face of organized objections, of retreat in the face of open opposition, of "rethinking" when faced with the displeasure of sponsors and of self-censorship.

During the Nixon years the networks were frightened pawns of the White House. They periodically issued statements of defiance but worried like hell at FCC license-renewal time; they said that Spiro Agnew was wrong when he called them an effete clique, but they behaved as if he was right; they allowed that there was no basis for criticisms that their news presentations and comments reflected "an Eastern establishment, liberal" point of view, but they rushed out to hire personalities like Jeffrey St. John for such things as "Spectrum," so that they'd be able to show on paper that they had conservatives, too.

ABC gave Jim Bouton a leave when the outspoken sports broadcaster began campaigning for Senator George McGovern, and Geraldo Rivera followed soon after, complaining that the network was guilty of "an infringement of my freedom of speech and association." Herb Klein, the White House director of communication for most of the Nixon years, would call radio and television stations and "wonder" about the objectivity of a report, and the reporter or editor was made to justify his presentation. When

Cassie Mackin on NBC characterized the reelection campaign of Nixon as one of nonappearances, innuendo, and a failure to speak on issues, Klein called the president of NBC News, Reuven Frank, who in turn had Mackin go through her campaign coverage notes to justify the conclusions she had drawn in her report.

It was a measure of broadcasting's cowardice that when "The Selling of the Pentagon" appeared on CBS, it was hailed as a gutsy, outspoken, and exceedingly tough attack on the U.S. military establishment. It was, of course, nothing of the kind. It was a simple laying out of what everybody knew, done with style and with some fine interviewing and film clipping by Peter Davis. And after it appeared, CBS felt compelled to repeatedly justify its showing. And there was the two-part series on Watergate that appeared on the Walter Cronkite show early on in the investigation. The first portion, fifteen minutes long, was a more than adequate primer on the foul event with solid intimations that the affair was attached to the White House by strings that were discernible. The second part was to have been of equal length—until Charles Colson called Bill Paley, perhaps the most powerful broadcasting executive anywhere and the embodiment of the coun-

try's broadcasting establishment, and, with a suddenness known only to broadcasters, fifteen minutes became seven minutes and a solid second-parter became a fragmented, coreless nothing.

But still the strong statements went out. CBS News President Richard Salant said flatly that he wouldn't be cowed and neither would his news staff.

But it is a fact that Dan Rather is no longer in the White House. It is a fact that CBS affiliates disapproved of Rather's exchange with Nixon just a scant three months before the president left office. It happened in Houston in May, when Rather, who had been sniping at the president—not so much at press conferences but in his standuppers in front of the White House—walked into a press conference and was greeted with a mixture of applause and boos.

Nixon eyed Rather and asked him, "Are you running for something?"

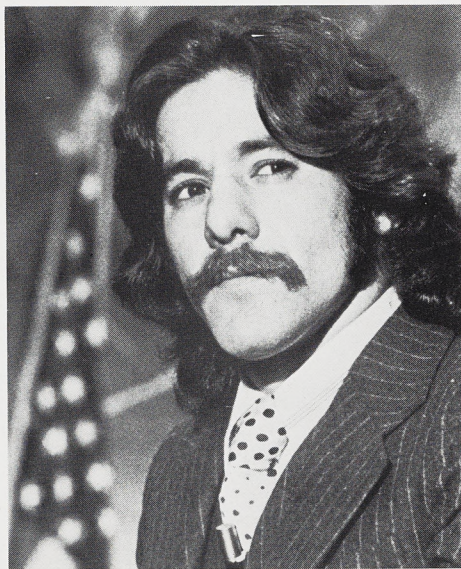
To which Rather replied, "No sir, are you?"

Local CBS affiliates were upset, and some appeared distressed that Rather had been "disrespectful" to the president, while others charged that he had been openly hostile. Salant said that, "All of us, including, I suspect, Dan Rather, wish it hadn't happened." Then he praised Rather as a "superb journalist." A short while later Rather left the White House.

Salant later told CBS affiliates that "while no news organization can be defiant and arrogant if it is to survive, its news judgments must be totally independent and free—independent and free even of those on whom it is most completely dependent and to whom it is most deeply obligated."

It sounded good.

At the core of TV's timidity lies the Federal Communications Commission's licensing power. The networks are not themselves licensed, but each of the five local TV stations that each is permitted to own is, as are the radio stations owned by each. These licenses have become in the last two decades permits to manufacture money. A station like WNBC (Channel 4 in New York), which is NBC's flagship station, can produce a scant handful of



GERALDO RIVERA

The history of commercial
and public television—during
the Nixon years
and even today—is one of cowardice,
retreat, "rethinking," and
self-censorship.

Fred Ferretti is chief of the *New York Times* city hall bureau and formerly a television and radio reporter-critic for the *Times*.

shows—a nightly news package, the Sunday morning public affairs "ghetto," a local weekly documentary series—and fill out the rest of its on-the-air time with cheap buys from syndicated packagers, network news, public affairs, and entertainment programs, and net \$30- to \$40-million a year. The lure of such money is too strong to permit hard-hitting documentaries to jeopardize it, too strong to allow too much freedom of expression insofar as living politicians are concerned.

The three years I spent in television news as reporter, editor, and producer was a bath in intramural memos and second-guessing; directives on the time separation between airline commercials from reports of airplane crashes; detailed tallies of air time given to candidate for office (it was virtually never *what* a person said, but how much time he was given in a news program. Never mind *what* his opponent said, but be sure he was awarded a twenty-six-second film cut because the first guy had received twenty-six seconds); and construction of news programs to benefit the messages of sponsors. I saw fine reporters thrown off television news by network executives because they weren't pretty or were "too New York." I saw others thrown off long-covered stories because of their tough reporting on controversial issues. And in the time I spent as the *New York Times* TV and radio reporter and sometime critic I saw no change.

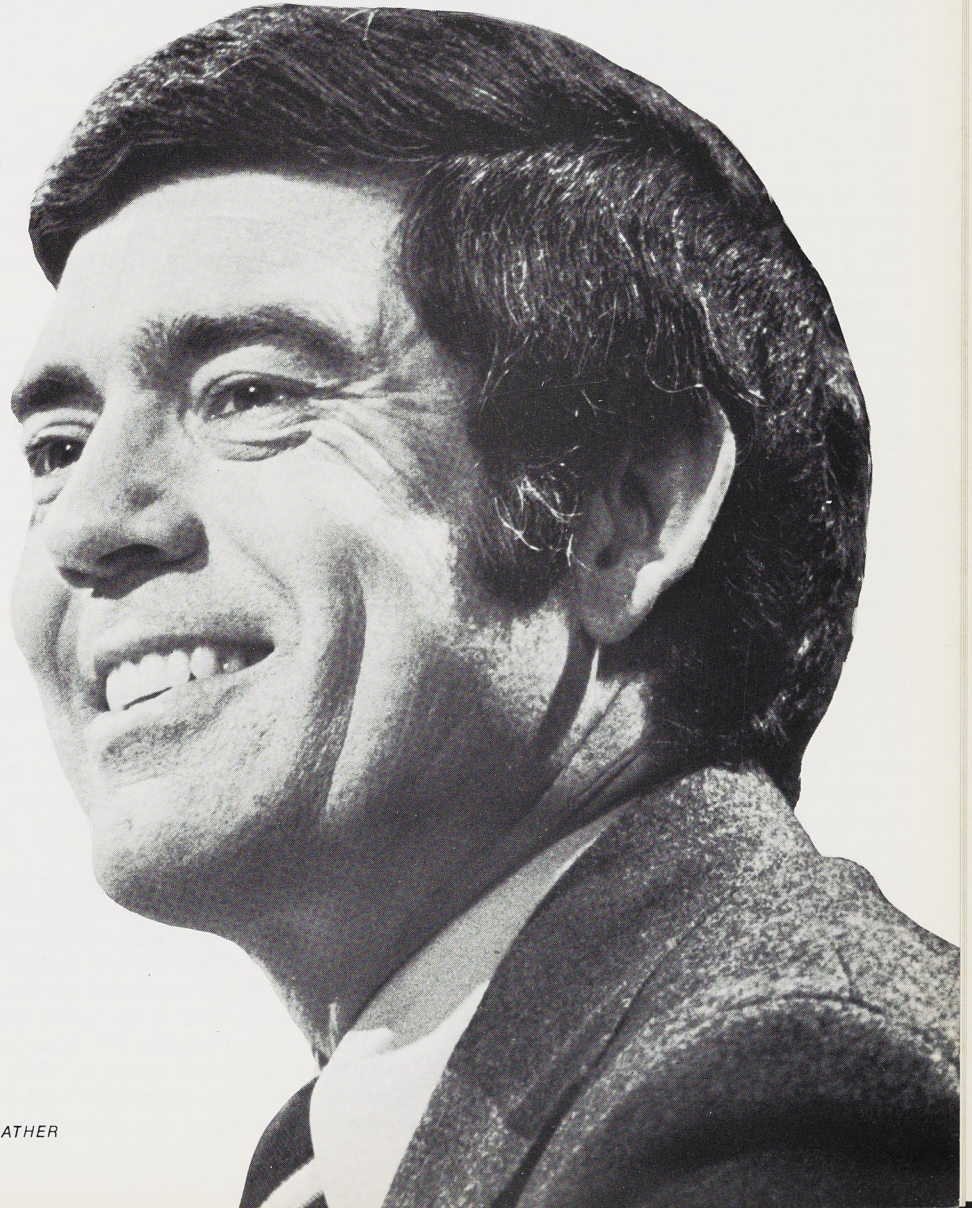
Even public television is not immune. It is no secret that Richard Nixon and Clay Whitehead, who for a time was the head of the White House Telecommunications Office, had the public television stations, which depend in large measure on government goodwill to get their annual federal handouts, very frightened. Nixon allowed as how such programs as "The Banks and the Poor" and "Who Invited U.S.?" were "one-sided" and out of balance, and that the "right" kind of use for public television was to be a conduit for the dispensing of federally favored programming, such as the White House Conference on Hunger, with all kinds of call-backs from the nationwide audience that

would prove that the "people" were involved.

Public television, through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, has been for years campaigning for permanent financing, but the concept has been fought not only by the federal government but by politicians who would rather tie any appropriation they might grant to a perusal of what programs can be expected. Nixon favored programs dealing with meaningless national conferences on major problems, rather than documentaries

that dealt editorially with these problems, and there is little doubt that the producers of public television public affairs were aware of his feelings. Bob Kotlowitz, programming director for Channel 13 in New York, briefed his board of trustees on the eve of the 1973-74 broadcast season with these words:

"We approached the 1973-74 season in a period of heavy disappointments and tremors within the public television system. This involved the presence of a new management at the Corporation for Pub-



DAN RATHER

lic Broadcasting, the continuing struggle between CPB and PBS (the Public Broadcast Service, which distributed public television programs to the interconnected network of public TV stations, and was the program-generating rival of CPB within the public TV community), the public presence of the Clay Whitehead sensibility in terms of the present administration's attitude toward public affairs in general on public television and New York specifically, meaning WNET/13."

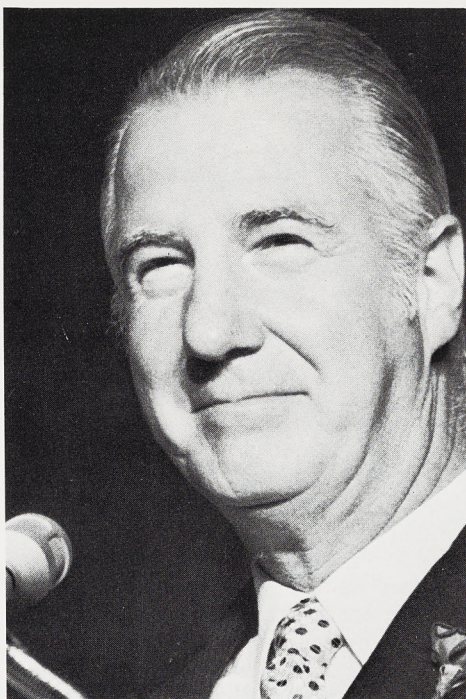
Channel 13, with its Ford Foundation-funded news operation, was a special target of the Administration's ill will. For most of the heyday of public television, from the time it was known as "educational" television, Channel 13 was the cultural and public affairs leader in producing meaningful programs. But the combination of the Nixon years and the desire for more corporate funding has blunted its sharpness. It now shows a program card that is full of non-controversial public affairs. It deplores sickness and praises health, dislikes bad and likes good, suggests that daring programming is a three-hour unbroken production of one of Wagner's operas, and shoots down anything that might offend the companies it wants money from.

Selwyn Raab, a former producer at WNBC and former executive producer at Channel 13, resigned over the direction the station's public affairs was assuming. "There was no commitment to regular documentary, investigative programming. It seemed to me that they didn't want investigation, because it wasn't safe."

And Peter Lance, also a Channel 13 producer, said that he found there was a lack of commitment to a consumer show he had proposed and produced, because there appeared to be a problem with the funding. So he resigned and went to ABC, where he is producing a similar program hosted by Geraldo Rivera, because Rivera, with his closetful of Emmy awards, has a power base that is virtually unshakable—even in commercial television.

Rivera says that there is without doubt self-censorship in operation at ABC. "The network has dozens of lawyers whose sole job it is to keep things off the air," he says. "And after constant struggles, after 1,600 stories, after four years, I find I unconsciously try to anticipate what might or might not go. That's self-censorship. It is chilling. And there is no question about it."

He says an example was the film he made of a marijuana experiment at the NYU-Bellevue Medical Center in New York. People were smoking marijuana under controlled conditions with their motor responses being carefully monitored. Rivera went to the center with a camera crew. He says "I smoked in a clinic, with doctors monitoring my re-



Wide World Photos

SPIRO AGNEW

sponses, response time. In the end ABC would not let me put it on the air. They said they thought it was improper. The lawyers said, 'Anyone else but you. It is a question of image.' So I went on the air and said that ABC had refused to permit the report on the air.

"It was a bitter experience. I felt it was proper journalistically and obviously valid TV reporting. They did not."

He says, "It's things like that, the repetition of them, that make you think twice on later assignments. That's where self-censorship comes in."

Radio reporters also say that they are urged by their program directors and producers to be "analytical, but not too hard when we talk about politicians," according to one reporter for a network radio station in New York. And because of the tenseness of the urban situation throughout the country, radio reporters are required not to mention that, for example, a riot is brewing, or a bomb scare has been reported, or police are questioning an identifiable suspect. "They're afraid that some nuts might hear the report and be swept up into doing something," the reporter said. It may be argued that this kind of self-censorship is "good" censorship, or can even be defined as "community responsibility," but it is nevertheless a proscribing of the news function.

But there is less these days of the kind of behavior that the Nixon administration used to perpetrate, such as calling stations before a Nixon speech to ask if the station intended to comment on the president's speech, and if so, what they intended to say. Perhaps the most blatant example of pressure came in 1969 when Dean Burch, Barry Goldwater's confidant, former chairman of the Republican Na-

tional Committee, and then chairman of the Federal Communications Committee, telephoned the presidents of the networks to request transcripts of their commentaries.

Burch, during his tenure as FCC chairman, was largely responsible, along with Herb Klein, for creation of one broadcasting legacy of the Nixon years—the creation of the chasm that exists today between the networks and the local stations that buy their product. The president, Burch, and Klein, praised the concept of local broadcasting as the backbone of the national industry, while at the same time pressuring the networks, thus setting the affiliates against the networks. Today local pressure is stronger than it has ever been and the networks are more obsequious than ever to the wishes of the great unseen out there in TV land. One has only to look at the common denominator striven for in news and entertainment.

The Nixon men also did other things. Fred Friendly, the former CBS producer of the Ed Murrow shows and now the TV consultant to the Ford Foundation, once told the *New York Times* how pressure was applied:

"You get an eight-page accusation about something controversial in the program, and you send back a twenty-page rebuttal. This inspires a new forty-page response from the lawyers and lobbyists for some outfit who have nothing else to do. And that takes you sixty-five pages to answer, and you get back a new seventy-three-page list of accusations. They know what they're doing—they know—it's a game with them."

And though the networks showed resentment, and though there were public expressions of outrage and brave statements of nonintimidation, the facts were that the networks did pull back, most often as pure reflex. And the network men recognized it. These are three responses given to reporter Robert Sherrill of the *Nation* in a report he did on the consequences to the broadcasters following the showing of "The Selling of the Pentagon":

NBC News President Reuven Frank said: "Every time that you undertake something that is just not quite as bland as all the other things you do, you worry about—will I be cited by the FCC? Will I have to testify to an examiner? Will I have to turn out my papers for them to look at? Will I be called by that House committee or that Senate committee?"

CBS President Frank Stanton said, "These things are bound to have an effect on your organization, no matter how much you try to protect your staff. After several experiences where they are pulled up short, where they have to testify, it's bound to have an erosive effect."

CBS News President Salant added, "I have to worry about guys out in the field getting unhappy about being taken off

the job to answer these things, and saying, "Oh, to hell with it, I'll do stuff on ecology from here on out." And you have to worry about guys in the field trying to second-guess you and thinking I don't want them to do the hard-hitting material."

Publicly, ABC said less, perhaps because it enjoyed whatever favoritism existed in the White House towards TV news. Howard K. Smith was Nixon's favorite newscaster; Smith only joined the anti-Nixon chorus when the president was virtually certain to be retired from office. He was an apologist, and in many respects he set the tone for his network. Ironically, some of the classiest and toughest commentaries on Nixon and Agnew came not from network or public TV outlets, but from ABC's New York flagship, WABC, through the mouths of smart-ass Roger Grimsby and babyface Bill Beutel—to the surprise of some of the local critics.

But examples of self-censorship abound in other areas of network broadcasting as well. James Caan says "Son of a bitch!" in *The Godfather*, but on NBC it becomes "Son of a Buck!"—whatever that is. *Midnight Cowboy*, a movie about male homosexuals, has all details of male homosexuality deleted from the TV version. "All in the Family" peppered its pilot version with "hebe" and "wop" and "spade" invective. It also contained some rather innocent scenes of Archie Bunker's

daughter and son-in-law coming down stairs, buttoning their shirts after an obvious bout of lovemaking. In the broadcast version this material was cut and a few more bigotries were tossed in for laughs.

Abbie Hoffman appeared on a talk show and because he wore a shirt made of an American flag, CBS blacked him out. CBS censored a plea from Carol Burnett to her audiences that they send letters of peace to Coretta King. All obscenities in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, which depends upon them for its tautness and strain, were cut before it went on TV; but all of the killing attendant in "The Untouchables" is left intact. George C. Scott as *Patton* looks square at the TV audience and instead of saying "dirty bastard" says "despicable coward." In the movie *M*A*S*H* Elliott Gould said something to a nurse, but on television it came out this way: "Get me a nurse who can work in close without getting her chest in the way." ABC refused to show a portion of the halftime show of one of its telecast football games because it was too "pro-peace."

Then, of course, there was the request by Nixon last April for free air time to explain why he was not complying with the subpoena of the House Judiciary Committee. He got it, over the protests of the Democratic National Committee, who thought it irregular that this was con-

sidered nonpartisan White House time.

NBC and ABC didn't say anything about it and said they'd give Representative Peter Rodino thirty minutes of time to respond, but there was Salant popping up with, "It is not automatic [that Nixon was given the time]. It's just a question of news judgment. We're carrying him because we think it's newsworthy as hell."

But after Nixon was out of office, CBS became a good deal braver. They turned down the purchase of three half hours by the Republican National Committee, who wanted to present a series devoted to rebuilding their party's image in the wake of the Nixon debacle. But they sold five minutes to Senator Henry Jackson so he could announce his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The network said that the Republican buy would have been a sale "of a controversial issue," whereas Jackson's announcement was something that was going to be on the ballot—at least that's what CBS said.

Someday there will be honesty on television—in its journalism (I except Daniel Schorr from everything said above) and in its entertainment. Someday the networks, the local stations, the public television stations, will act out of responsibility, not out of fear at what someone will do to their licenses. Let us hope we see it in our lifetimes. I've about given up. ■

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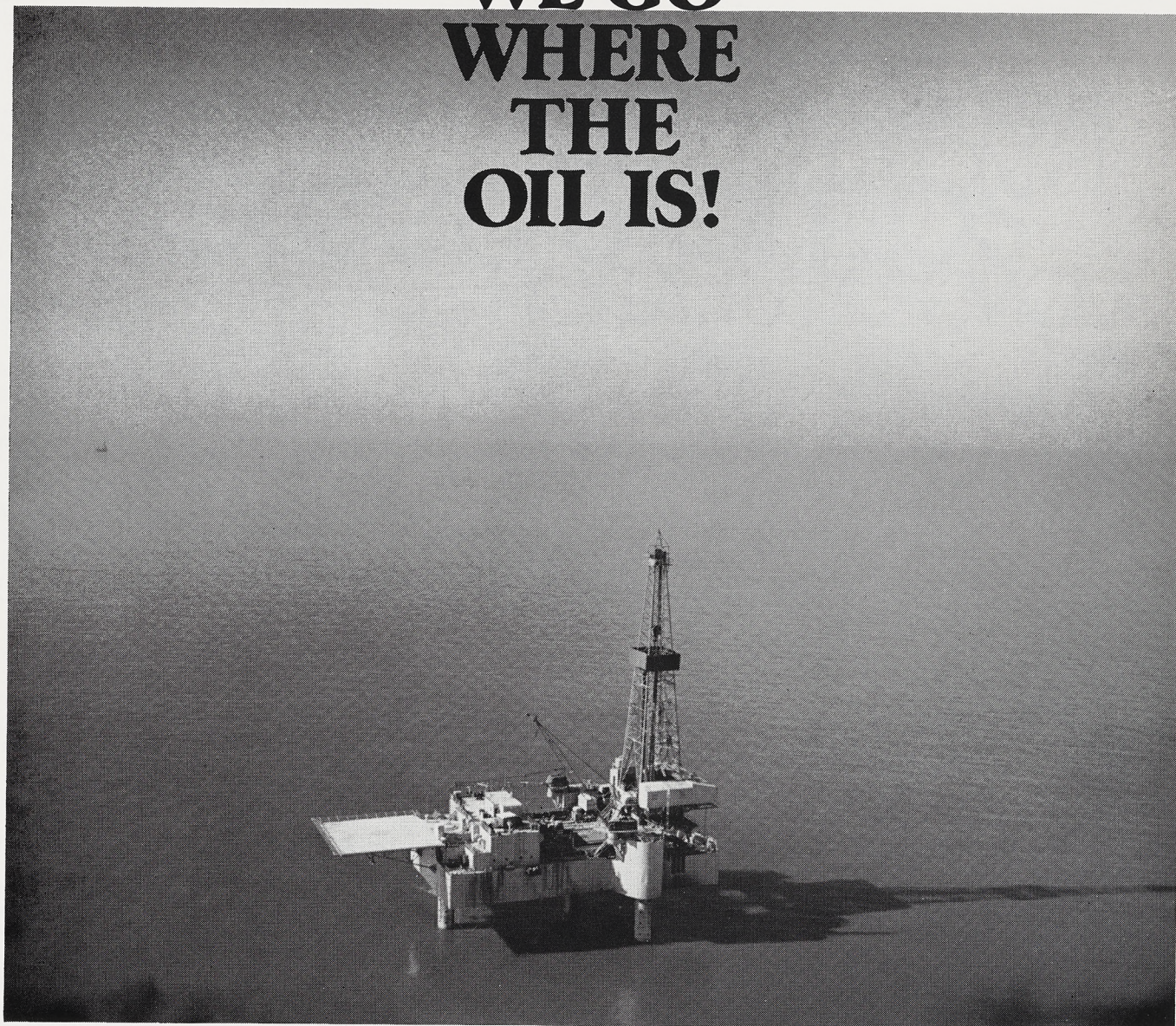
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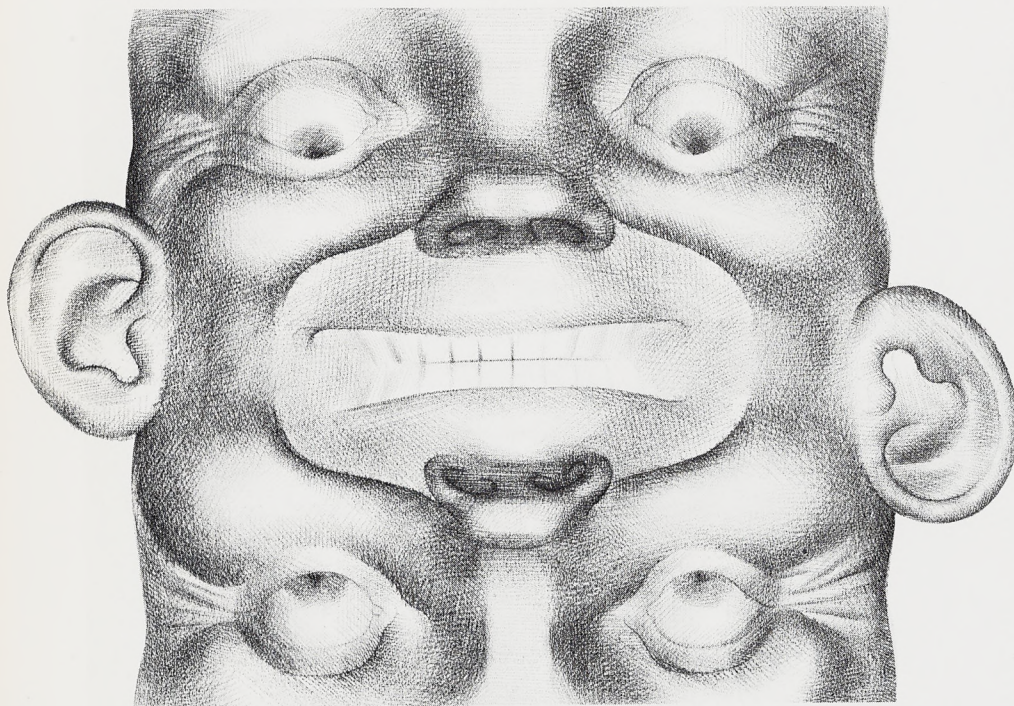
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MEDIA SELF-CRITICISM IS MOSTLY MEDIA SELF- CONGRATULATION



By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

In December 1973, *Editor & Publisher*, the newspaper trade magazine, stated in its lead article, "Most daily newspapers in the United States are doing something to be accountable to their readers for the accuracy of their news coverage, according to a copyrighted study released by the American Newspaper Publishers Association."

That will certainly be news to the readers of "most daily newspapers."

For more than twenty-five years, Americans have displayed public hostility toward the news media and a willingness to accept political and judicial interference with the news process. Dwight Eisenhower, for example, brought an animal roar out of a Republican National Convention by saying that "sensation-seeking" commentators and columnists had no desire to help the Republican cause. Lyndon Johnson's commentary on the American

press could not be quoted in family newspapers. And worse was yet to come.

Much of the public's hostility is irrational and unfair. There is the traditional hatred of the messenger bringing bad news—and there has been plenty of bad news for a long time. If newspapers had soft-pedaled or sugarcoated the bad news in the manner of some "happy news" broadcast formats now being adopted, they would have deserved the brickbats.

But if the public has often been irrational in its attitude toward news organizations, news organizations have been just as irrational in facing up to modern demands for institutional reform and responsiveness.

The media's reaction to the National News Council is a good example of this irrationality. The council, a voluntary group supported by foundation money and recommended by a committee of practicing journalists, was established in 1973. The Council receives complaints against the national purveyors of news (it has since said it would extend this to local news); investigates those complaints that seem

serious on their face; issues a report on the known facts; and, if the Council decides to, makes a judgment. Period. It has no governmental power. No subpoenas. There are no demands upon the press; no commitment by anyone to do anything about the Council's reports.

The formation of the Council came at a crucial time. The Nixon Administration had just completed five years of exploiting public frustration to produce the most dangerous threat to press freedom since the Alien and Sedition Acts. With the Pentagon Papers it obtained the first court-ordered prior censorship of news in our history. The White House stimulated local officials to attack the press in their own jurisdictions and we saw an unprecedented wave of jailings and other harassments of newsmen. The reaction of the public was so encouraging to Nixon that he sent to Congress what amounted to an Official Secrets Act that would have imprisoned every correspondent in Washington who covered the White House, Pentagon, and State Department competently (an admittedly small, but a crucial, group). It would, of course, have guaranteed that official crimes would be more likely to go undetected. The Federal Communications Commission, White House, and Congress were moving in steadily on broadcast journalists, demanding advance scripts, cutting off public affairs news on public television, threatening the licenses of stations that refused to follow the party line, subpoenaing outtakes and otherwise intruding into the news editing process. And all with great public support.

Even news media executives accepted—or at least did not reject—these threats. After the Pentagon Papers case, after the Nixon-Agnew-Buchanan running attack on the press, after Watergate, 93 percent of American daily publishers endorsing a president in 1972 supported Richard Nixon.

Nevertheless, important professionals in journalism and some corporate executives recognized the threat and stood up to it. Frank Stanton of CBS stood firm against the subpoenaing of film editing cuts. Many editors expressed publicly their concern with official repression. Working journalists formed the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press and compiled an appalling record of the growing number of legal repressions throughout the country.

So when the National News Council was announced, my expectation was that the professionals would be grateful. At last the public would have reason to trust a professional, nongovernmental, nonmandatory, and dispassionate handling of complaints against the press. To repeat, the Council has no power to intrude into the freedom of editing and publishing.

My hope was in vain. The National News Council was overwhelmingly rejected by the press. When the American Society of Newspaper Editors polled its

Ben H. Bagdikian is a media critic whose latest book is *The Effete Conspiracy And Other Crimes By The Press* (Harper & Row).

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744 members, 405 replied and rejected the Council by a margin of four to one. The Associated Press and United Press International were noncommittal. The *New York Times* was flatly against it and said it would not cooperate (even though the editor of its editorial page, John Oakes, was a member of the committee recommending formation of the Council). The *Washington Post* was generally unenthusiastic. The *Wall Street Journal* rejected it. NBC said no. The only major organizations solidly for it were CBS and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

One possible explanation of this rejection after years of threats to press freedom might be the breaking open of Watergate. Watergate was seen as a vindication of the press and proof to a suspicious public that the attackers, the Nixon crowd, were the real villains. So, perhaps many news people felt that a mechanism like the News Council was no longer needed to allay public distrust. If this was so, then it was based on the unjustified wave of self-congratulations in the press about its role in Watergate. Watergate was exposed by only four newspapers (that is two-tenths of 1 percent of daily papers). Even after these few papers did the work, most major papers and even more small ones played down the news when it counted most, in the months before the 1972 elections. For the main body of American newspapers, Watergate was no triumph.

A more important reason for the massive rejection of anything like a National News Council is that news organizations instinctively dislike not only *outside* examination but *self-examination*.

Today's news establishment is reacting to self-examination and accountability the way it did twenty-eight years ago when the Hutchins Commission—the Commission for a Free and Responsible Press—recommended the same thing. In 1947 the Hutchins group warned that, unless the press established a formal and visible way for complaints to be examined, the public would eventually support governmental action to that end.

The reaction to that obvious statement was not unlike the contemporary reaction to the News Council. The *Chicago Tribune* said it was "the outpouring of a gang of crackpots." *Editor & Publisher* said the Hutchins Commission did a totally bad job. The American Society of Newspaper Editors appointed a committee to respond to the Hutchins Report; and the committee in due time announced that it would not dignify the report with a reply.

The only real difference in today's response is that a few papers have taken substantial steps to make routine correction of errors outside regular news channels, and that a smaller number have created in-house criticism.

The celebration of this great breakthrough in self-criticism is typified by the study reported by *Editor & Publisher* a

year ago. At first glance, the study seemed to say that most papers have created new and substantial mechanisms for self-criticism and correction. But it is statistically curious. Only 135 daily newspapers participated in the study, which is not a great response from 1,774 dailies. So these 135 are hardly a cross-section of American dailies.

Generally it is the large papers that have taken the new steps. For example, the study says that 9 percent of American dailies have ombudsmen, or twelve of the dailies responding. Ten of these twelve are papers of more than 50,000 circulation. The rate of ombudsmen in papers below 50,000 circulation is said by the study to be 7 percent, or only two of the dailies responding.

But even if this response was more encouraging, there is an obvious problem with the ombudsman concept: the critic is being paid by the house. If the Schuberts announced that they were paying the drama critics the result would be a Broadway guffaw. But the ombudsman is almost always an older staff member who, as former reporter or editor, has strong personal attachments to people and to the institution he or she is supposed to be criticizing. Being able to lambast or praise in public print is a powerful position, and there is always the possibility that the critic will think too much about his future within the organization.

The result is that the few papers that support regular columns of in-house criticism tend to run periodic barrages of roses and marshmallows. There are some exceptions, but not many. The public columns more often explain away bad journalism than analyze and condemn it. Or else they stick to superficial faults and stay away from central flaws that cut close to the institutional nerve centers.

Furthermore, most in-house critics are asked to do other jobs as well, some of which are conflicts of interest for a person supposed to be a detached commentator. Some do public relations speaking for the paper, or write confidential memos to the boss. Almost all are supposed to handle routine customer complaints. That is a legitimate and necessary function on a paper of any size, but it deserves a separate operation. Tracking down complaints can be time-consuming. Most require patient and sympathetic listening, sometimes for hours.

Moreover, the complaint handler receives periodic letters from the top brass who ask for investigations of serious gripes. (I was once asked to investigate a lobbyist's accusation that the *Post's* coverage of import-export policy had been unfair for four years. It took a long time to answer that complaint.) This is tough on a serious critic of journalism who, among other things, has to read the paper more carefully and thoroughly than most of the editors do, and must then come

up with something concrete and thoughtful to say.

Lastly, most managements expect an ombudsman to concentrate on workaday staff errors. It usually comes as an outrageous shock that they, the news policy-makers, might come under fire themselves—in their own paper. That shock was the end of my personal ombudsmanship for the *Washington Post*.

With all of those pitfalls, it is still better to have an ombudsman than not. For one thing, the major problem—being on the payroll of your target, and being tempted to further your own ambitions and stay away from subjects that will enrage the bosses—can be solved. When I left the *Post* I wrote a memo suggesting ways to avoid such institutional divorce in the future. Among other things, I suggested that the critic be moved out of the newsroom (some reporters used to try to check out their stories with me before they showed them to their own editors). More basically, I recommended that the paper select a distinguished journalist from another organization, ask him to take a year's leave during which he would have a noncancelable and nonrenewable contract, stating that the critic could never work for the *Post* in the future. Eventually, the *Post* came close to doing just that. They hired as their fourth ombudsman Charles Seib, managing editor of the competing *Washington Star-News*, who has a five-year noncancelable, nonrenewable contract.

That article in *Editor & Publisher* listed other corrective devices as existing in "most daily newspapers." These were: press councils, 3 percent; advisory boards, 9 percent; accuracy forms sent to sources, 13 percent; accuracy forms printed in the paper, 4 percent; standing heads for corrections, 13 percent; and "other" systems, 48 percent. No systems were reported by 23 percent of the 135 respondents.

Unfortunately, it appears from the explanation of the study that standing heads for corrections was a category drawn from answers to the "other" systems, so that it appears that these were counted twice. (Many papers say they have standing heads for corrections but in fact use the standing head only for major errors that threaten to turn into libel suits.)

The press should not try to end the problem of public hostility by becoming less vigorous, or reporting less than the truth. But neither will it gain public trust by pretending that it needs no systematic accountability and self-criticism, or by letting a small number of editors—privately scorned by the majority—move up front and take all the heat.

Most of the press needs to wake up to the fact that the public, for all its impulsive and often misplaced anger, ultimately cannot be fooled by unsubstantiated boasts of virtue. ■

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By PETER FRISHAUF

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"Someday," muses Foil, tightening the belt on his trenchcoat for protection against the thick fog of New York's waterfront, "Someday these guys will give up all this racketeering and we can all live in peace."

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Or, as Finditall put it, "We'll both be out of jobs."

Then there is a reporter who worked for a slick home furnishings tabloid. "It had a remarkable non-nose for news," says the reporter. "I can remember during the Watergate hearings when it was widely assumed that DuPont and Monsanto—two of our advertisers—had illegally contributed to Nixon's campaign. When I queried our Washington bureau, I got a memo that they had already checked it out and that the companies were in the clear. Two weeks later it was in *The New York Times* that they had made illegal contributions."

According to the American Business Press (ABP), there are currently about 2,400 trade (or as ABP prefers, "business and professional") journals being published in the United States today. Advertisers spent \$979-million in these jour-

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nals in 1973, according to ABP, which is about ten times what the American public spends on baseball. The trades cover virtually every field and subfield of American business and professional life, with titles ranging from *Barrier Methods* (which promotes condoms and diaphragms as contraceptives) to *Abrasive Engineering* ("the voice for better abrasive machining methods").

The quality and integrity of the trade press—which the ABP estimates has an aggregate circulation of almost 65 million—is as diverse as that of the consumer press. Some trades accept no advertising and charge more than \$400 for a year's subscription, while others (particularly the so-called closed books that feature advertising from only one company) sometimes find it difficult to give their product away.

"Some trades can be so violently chauvinistic their own publishers don't even put any stock in what they say," says Edgar Grunwald, a recently retired assistant to the president at McGraw-Hill Company, the largest publisher of trade magazines in the world. "But," adds Grunwald, who worked in trades for more than forty years, "most of the bigger trades do have integrity. Generally if there is a controversy in an industry, the trade-readers will know about it anyway, so you would look pretty stupid if you intentionally tried to avoid going into it. After all, you're not writing for dummies. Chances are—and this is particularly true for the trades—that your readers will know more about any given topic than you, the writer, knows anyway."

Most trades are not written for dummies, but they are—virtually without exception—saddled with one overriding consideration: *they exist only for their advertisers*. Trade advertisers, after all are the "industry." Trade magazines exist because an industry desires communication within it. If the industry is hurt, the trades are hurt. And therein lies the rub.

"To a certain extent you're faced with the same dilemma as the small-town newspaper," Grunwald concedes. "What can they say about the local courthouse down the street when they're dependent on all those legal notices they put in the paper?"

Just where a given publication comes down in this argument determines how well informed readers will be about their industries. Some trade magazines openly embrace the concept that they are "the voice" of their industry (their advertisers), and offer little more than the company line, creatively displayed and predigested for easy reading. This philosophy was neatly represented in the 1974 annual ABP magazine, *The Case for The Business Press*, in an article, "The Case for Editorial Excellence," by Robert W. Mueller. Mueller, editor emeritus of *Progressive Grocer* and the 1973 recipient of the ABPs "G. D. Crane Award for Editorial

"Most trade magazines are saddled with one overriding consideration: they exist only for their advertisers."

Excellence," wrote, "... regarding advertiser and reader, for many years it seemed ethical and proper for the editor to remain aloof and indifferent to the interests of the advertiser. Sounded great and lofty, but this was a misguided attitude, for time and experience have proved again and again that in nearly every instance, the interests and goals of the readers and those of the advertiser are parallel. Just as there is an interdependence among the criteria of editorial excellence, so is there equal interdependence between advertiser and reader. The excellent editor, the excellent publication understand [sic] this."

There are many trade editors and publishers who totally disagree with Mueller's view that editorial material must slumber peacefully in the bed of advertising. Many trades like to think of themselves as a conscience to their industry and profess to be above advertiser influence. Scientific magazines are generally the most vociferous in asserting their independence and many can cite instances where they have carried controversial articles that resulted in advertising losses.

It is among these journals that the issue of self-censorship is particularly important. Readers of the Mueller school of publications don't usually expect to get much more than an industry viewpoint. Other readers, however, may depend on trade publications as the major source of information about their profession. *Variety*, for example, has a reputation as a paragon of integrity, a "bible of the entertainment industry." For scientists and physicians, trade publications (usually referred to as "the literature") are an integral part of the scientific method, and without them the professions could not exist as we know them.

In most intellectual disciplines, "publishing" in the trades is the only method to transmit new ideas and information to others for validation and implementation. Further down the information pipeline, virtually all news of scientific and technical development that reaches the general public through the consumer media has its roots in scientific or technical trades.

"I can remember in 1968 when I first started here," says Stuart Auerbach, science and medical writer for the *Washington Post*, "every Monday when *Science* and the *Journal of the American Medical Association* came out we used to do a

whole spate of stories. We still rely heavily on the journals although now, with a greater emphasis on the socioeconomic implications of science, there's less reliance than in the past." Adds David Hendin, syndicated medical columnist for Newspaper Enterprise Association, "Maybe 100 percent of my stories come out of reading some professional publication. That's where the ideas are generated." Hendin, like most science writers, looks to professional publications to provide "peer review" of information. "Scientific publications are one reason why you can't lie in science," Hendin says. "If you lie sooner or later you'll be caught because someone else is going to be using your knowledge and putting it to a new test."

What kind of self-censorship do reputable trades engage in? Most commonly censored are stories that affect the interests of advertisers or the publisher, but also vulnerable are articles that may offend the prejudices of editors and publishers. Acupuncture, for example, was for years considered a form of scientific hokum by American medical publications who were reflecting the prevailing view of the medical establishment. Another topic that often seems to be a victim of publishers' prejudices rather than scientific content is marijuana. For example, *Private Practice*, an arch-conservative magazine for physicians, published in January 1975 a "clinical feature" in which it is observed that, "marijuana is probably the most dangerous drug with which this country must contend." According to the article, marijuana use "leads to deluded thoughts about the necessity to seduce others into smoking marijuana," "Most chronic users are active pushers," and marijuana's "early use is beguiling. It gives the illusion of feeling good, so the user is unaware of the beginning loss of mental functioning. In fact, marijuana impairs the user's ability even to judge the loss of his own mental abilities." Needless to say, *Private Practice* has never published reports of any scientific studies that show the relative safety of marijuana.

No doubt *Private Practice* sees its coverage of marijuana as responsible and reasonably objective, just as many readers would find that same coverage ludicrous. And no doubt *Private Practice* does not see its failure to cover the other side of the marijuana controversy as self-censorship, but only as responsible screening of scientific submissions.

Self-censorship is often just a difference of interpretation. At *Medical World News*, for example, the publisher appointed by McGraw-Hill, Bradley MacKimm says, "We try to be as objective and informative as possible. That's our principle function—to inform the physician and provide him with useful information."

MacKimm's mandate sounds reasonable enough, but several current and for-

mer *Medical World News* reporters told me that it has one major caveat: stories that might affect the interests of advertisers—meaning pharmaceutical companies—are handled carefully.

One such story at *Medical World News* involved the drug tolbutamide, which about 1.5 million diabetics swallow every day in an effort to help keep down their levels of blood sugar. Tolbutamide is made by the UpJohn Company and accounts for a major share of their product line. It has been—and continues to be—heavily promoted in *Medical World News*.

In 1969 a large study involving more than eight hundred diabetic patients at twelve hospitals indicated some previously unsuspected hazards of the drug. The study concluded that in the group of patients studied (they were followed for eight and a half years), the death rate from heart and related diseases was twice as high among patients using the tolbutamide pills than among those treated with insulin injections or those whose blood sugar was controlled by diet alone.

The tolbutamide study, called the University Group Diabetes Project (UGDP), touched off immediate controversy. While many physicians had diabetic patients who appeared to be doing well on the drug, the UGDP conclusions were eventually supported by the Food and Drug Administration and by committees of the American Medical Association and the American Diabetes Association.

And what was *Medical World News* saying? In its initial story the magazine began its coverage by reporting that "the latest spate of drug-scare headlines—this time involving a massive and statistically complex study of oral diabetic agents and insulin—has sparked a major scientific debate. . . ." A subsequent story presented both sides of the debate under the headline, "So What Do MDs Tell the Diabetic to Take?" But a third article took a decidedly anti-UGDP stance when it presented the AMA, FDA, and ADA endorsements of the study's findings under the headline, "Warning on Diabetes Drugs Gets Some Angry Reaction."

A not uninterested observer of the controversy was the UpJohn Company, whose stake in the tolbutamide market has been estimated at more than \$100-million. Throughout the debate—which continues still—UpJohn has disputed the statistical validity of the UGDP findings and has insisted that tolbutamide is a safe and effective agent in the control of certain types of diabetes. In the wake of UGDP, UpJohn needed help.

Help was to come in the form of a statement signed by thirty-four diabetologists endorsing the use of tolbutamide that was released during the 1970 AMA Clinical Convention. Dispatched to cover the story was *Medical World News* reporter Joseph Hixson, a former national correspondent for the *Herald Tribune* and

currently a public relations official for Memorial Sloan-Kettering Hospital in New York. "I didn't like it when they sent me to cover that story," recalls Hixson, "but I covered it like any other story. When I saw how they cut it, though, I felt the story was very biased. All the anti-UpJohn stuff was taken out, because I was told the publisher felt it was 'inappropriate.' I said I just couldn't accept that and so I quit." Hixson's story ran under the headline, "In Boston: A Diabetes Tea Party Hits FDA." His account of how he came to quit was confirmed by two other people familiar with the circumstances. At the time Hixson quit he was given an out—he was told that there would be another opportunity to do a tolbutamide story that could contain more of the critical information. By then he had made it a matter of principle, though.

As a footnote to the tolbutamide controversy, the Biometrics Society, an international panel of experts in biomedical statistics, recently reviewed the UGDP findings in light of the objections of the study's critics. The society, which published the findings in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, supported the UGDP conclusion that tolbutamide is hazardous. In an accompanying editorial, Dr. Thomas Chalmers, dean of the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine in New York, wrote: "The probability that oral hypoglycemic agents [drugs that lower blood sugar] caused premature deaths from cardiovascular disease remains valid. . . . If the drugs do cause premature death, one might estimate that there are 10,000 to 15,000 such unnecessary deaths occurring each year in the United States alone."

It could be argued that self-censorship in scientific and medical journals works against the public interest more than self-censorship in other fields, because of the dependence by doctors, scientists, and other professionals on these journals for continuing education. Decisions by physicians are particularly vulnerable to new information generated—or not generated—through the trades because of the many uncertainties that may affect any prescribed course of patient therapy. Self-censorship in the scientific trades, by its very definition, must compromise the educational mission of the magazines.

Nontechnical "industry" trades usually assume less of an educational "how to" responsibility to their readers and are more concerned with providing general news of developments within their profession. "Actually," says Edgar Grunwald, the retired McGraw-Hill executive, "the first business and professional magazines in the United States dealt in agriculture and prices. That's how they got the name 'trades.' Trade journalism grew up as pretty much an American development because most of the trade in the rest of the world was controlled by cartels. Only in an open competitive society, where A

needs to know what B is doing, do you see trade magazines."

Another dividend to having A know what B is up to is that if both A and B know that there's an aggressive trade out there watching over them, they are more likely to operate in an ethical manner. This philosophy—of providing a mechanism for accountability in industry—has been embraced by many of the more respected trade publications. "If there's a story out there that we feel our readers should know about, we'll go after it, even if it means advertising losses," says James Boddorf, the McGraw-Hill appointed publisher of *House and Home*. We're the only paid-circulation magazine (\$12 a year) in our field (light construction), so we had better be providing something of value." Boddorf estimates his magazine sustains advertising losses two to three times a year because of unhappiness with stories, but says "that's a small price to pay for the increased respect you get for letting the chips fall where they may."

Another advocate of this philosophy is Syd Silverman, president and publisher of *Variety*, who says, "We have no sacred cows. No taboos on anything. We never tell anyone don't cover this or don't cover that because of any outside pressure. We try to get the best story on any event and that's it. Period."

Responsible editors and publishers in the trade field don't like to admit that they engage in self-censorship any more than their counterparts in the consumer press. Virtually all publications, however, have some spoken or unspoken restrictions on what they will cover, and if they don't draw the line at attacking an advertiser they will probably draw it attacking the publisher. The magazine I am affiliated with, the *New Physician*, prides itself on looking into stories in medicine and medical education that other journals refuse to touch. But it has accepted a policy that it will not critically cover stories involving its publisher, the independent Student American Medical Association. It is hard to imagine that most publications do not have similar restrictions.

Would *Variety*, for example, cover the Syd Silverman influence in the entertainment industry?

Such self-censorship may be understandable (perhaps even desirable, since most readers would not believe a publication could examine its publisher in a disinterested way), but it does restrict information available to readers. For writers at these enlightened publications, this restriction means it might be all right to bite the hand that feeds the boss, as long as you don't bite the boss himself. Maybe such a restriction is reasonable. After all, that's why even a dedicated crime-buster like Finditall would sooner look for criminals on the waterfront than in the police department. ■

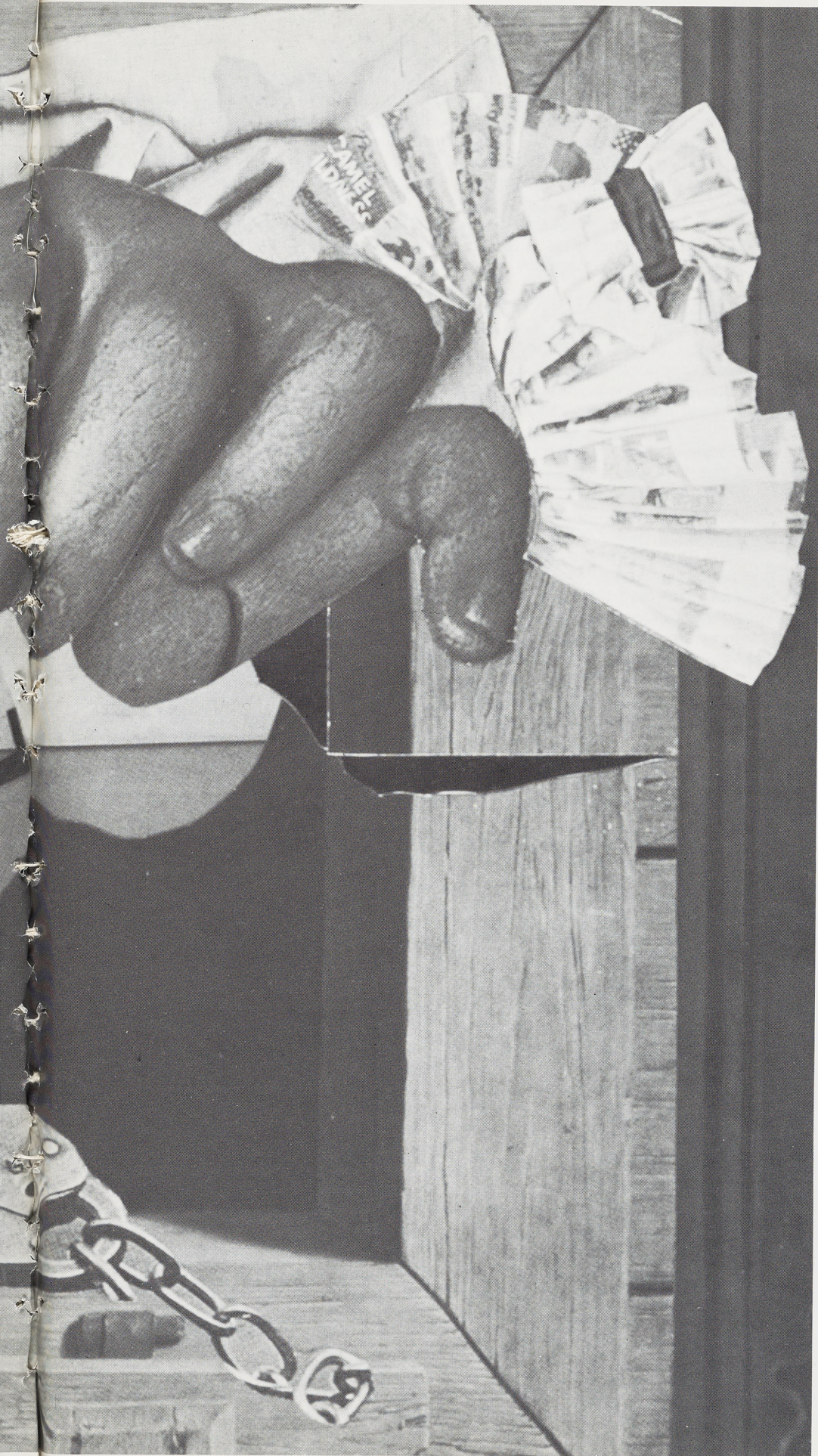
**Howard K.Smith and
Harry Reasoner on
the ABC Evening News.**



**Weeknights on the
ABC Television Network.**







WRITING FOR (AND AROUND) THE NEWS MAGAZINES

By ROBERT BLAIR KAISER

I was a summer stringer in Los Angeles hoping hard to win a job with *Time*. Luckily for me, we had a bureau chief who was so scared of imminent replacement by one of the crack correspondents below him that he put them on business roundups and gave exciting assignments to the rookies. He gave me the best event of the season in Southern California. "There's a bunch of right-wing nuts meeting next week at the Sports Arena," the chief told me. "See if there's a story there."

That was 1961. The Russians were detonating atomic weapons over Asia and some Americans were actually building underground shelters in their backyards. It was a time for John Birch Societies and secularized evangelists preaching a new holy war, not against the world, the flesh, and the devil, but against "godless, atheistic, dialectical materialism."

The preacher coming to Los Angeles was an Australian Savonarola named Fred Schwarz and he had already done several tent-revival "Christian Anti-Communist Crusades" around the country. As a reporter for the *Arizona Republic*, I had had to cover his Phoenix crusade with a straight face. Schwarz had used my "objective" (translation: everything-at-face-value) reporting to con Phoenix with his particular brand of hysteria. Now I welcomed the chance to do a fuller piece of interpretative reporting on the crusade, in *Time*, where millions would read it.

So I wrote a long "suggestion" about the upcoming crusade in Los Angeles to *Time*'s Nation section, with a copy to *Life*, whose editors found the suggestion alone ample research for a sneering column and a half about the anti-Communist circus in silly Southern California. Simultaneously, the Nation section scheduled the story. I filed about 30,000 words on every aspect of the affair, and *Time* ran a report which, though much less than the exposé of idiocy I had assembled, still skewered Schwarz and company. Then I stood back to marvel over Time Inc.'s handling of the explosion that followed.

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The well-heeled sponsors of the Southern California Anti-Communist Crusade were so miffed about the *Life* story that they had \$10-million worth of ad contracts canceled from Eversharp-Schick, Rexall Drugs, and Richfield Oil. There were editorial and corporate clashes. The ad salesmen screamed for a "retraction." Richard Stolley, *Life* bureau chief in Los Angeles, told the ad men to stay the hell out of his editorial space. They countered by bringing in C. D. Jackson, publisher of a *Life* that was in financial trouble for the first time in its glossy existence, out to Los Angeles to apologize for the *Life* story before 20,000 raving anti-Communists in the Hollywood Bowl. MC George Murphy, hooper and expert on the Communist menace, accepted in the name of all. Later, at a party in the Valley, Murphy bragged that he had "brought Henry Luce to his knees." That pleased the big money Republicans so much that they promptly ran Murphy for the United States Senate and he won.

The whole situation—C. D. Jackson, the maniacs in the Bowl, and Murphy's gloating—only helped our Los Angeles bureau make a better case when Harry Luce came out soon after for a visit. My colleagues in the bureau insisted that I—now a full-fledged staff correspondent—take the place of honor next to Luce's better ear during a dinner at the Beverly Hills Hotel.

Luce remembered that he had seen some of my stuff in Phoenix, that I had broken a lunch date with him once in Phoenix, and that he had recommended me for a job at *Time*. He listened to my background report on the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, raised his bushy eyebrows when he heard that some 80 percent of the Crusade's backers were also Birchers, and nodded his agreement when someone else pointed out that Time Inc. ought to make its editorial points in the magazines, not in the Hollywood Bowl. Luce cleared his throat when we had presented our case and said, "I don't give a damn about losing \$10-million worth of advertising in *Life*. All I care about is the truth." He glared down the table at Stolley, whom he esteemed for his stand against the ad sales boys, and fiddled a bit with his napkin. "I'm not going to apologize for the apology," he added. "But I say just watch the magazines during the next few weeks."

We did—and noted at least one editorial in *Life* that carefully distinguished between the rabid evangelism of a Schwarz and the long-standing anti-Communism of *Time* and *Life*, and we read one longer story on Fred Schwarz in the Nation section of *Time*, a result of my further reporting and that of a more seasoned veteran, Burt Myers, who came out from the Washington bureau and found the same rampant sophomoric anti-Communism in Southern California that I had found.

W. A. Swanberg's hatchet job on Luce

made much, too much, of Luce's anti-Communism. Sure, Luce was against Communism, but that policy didn't prevent us from reporting what was happening out there in the real world. All a reporter needed was a little drive and imagination and a saving sense of humor and he could get most of the facts he dug up into the magazine, sooner or later. Luce, the great asker of questions, was mainly interested in new knowledge, in new ideas, and his magazines reflected Luce's own wonder at a world teeming with life (and therefore with change).

During those golden years, in the early Sixties, working for *Time* was a deeply satisfying thing. There were about one hundred correspondents around the world who walked tall in their trench coats. We had a great chief-of-correspondents, Richard N. Clurman, a guy who used to roam from New York to Nairobi and Rome to keep in touch with his men, giving them raises, telling them what good jobs they were doing, fighting for them, I suppose, with the editors in New York.

By its very nature, group journalism of the *Time* variety implied a kind of tension between New York and the field. We, the correspondents, all worked as if each of our stories were the story-of-the-week and the editors, naturally, had to cut many of them back to size and balance everything into the total news picture. But much of the fun lay in stealing more space than New York editors originally intended to give—and we did that by doing a lot of original reporting that the editors couldn't get anywhere else.

Of course, we knew the editors would reshape the material. The writer might have to reduce a 10,000-word file to two columns in the magazine. His researcher (a good journalist in her own right who had an adjunct role then simply because she was a woman) provided her input, usually some printed documentation, but often enough original interviews of her own with other sources who could give our files some further dimension. The senior editor helped sharpen the story with some magical editing. And the managing editor might ask for more (or less) of the story at 10 P.M. on a Saturday night.

Under these circumstances, we had to expect our stories to undergo some transformations. But they were invariably changes for the better. I rarely had a hard time recognizing my story, the major thrust of the piece was mine, the good quotes were the ones I had extracted from the sources, and it was my view of a story's significance that made it a *Time* story in the first place.

When Clurman hired me, he vowed never to send me to Rome. I'd studied for the Jesuit priesthood and he feared for my objectivity. (He shouldn't have, no more than he'd have to fear sending an

ex-actor to do a story on Brando or an ex-dancer to do a story on Margot Fonteyn). But that resolution didn't last. Clurman knew there would be a lot of action at the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council and that the best spot for me, in *Time*'s terms, was right in the middle of the action.

I got into the Rome action with energy and enthusiasm and found a great untapped story just beneath the surface of official pomp and official handouts. I had the right combination of tools to dig it out, understand its dimensions, and communicate them to the editors in New York. I immersed myself in the Council, I made my home the center of the Council's progressive wing several nights of every week, became an intimate acquaintance of most of the Council's top theologians, Protestant and Jewish observers—the most active of the bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, a few subcabinet members in the papal Curia, and the pope's personal secretary, Monseigneur Loris Capovilla himself. Every week during the autumn sessions of the Council, I poured forth files on the supposedly "secret" sessions, and on all the backroom struggles for power in a changing church. The Council wasn't unlike Capitol Hill, but, amazing to me, it took the rest of the American press in Rome a long time to catch on to the dimensions of the story. *Time* ran most of my best stuff.

Of course, this was a piece of cake. Rome was a long way from New York and A. J. Liebling's "Farther-Franker Law" applied: "the farther away from a story, the franker you can be about it." *Time* even ran some potentially explosive stuff of mine on the subtle struggle for power between Pope John XXIII and Cardinal Ottaviani and never caved in to outside pressures from Ottaviani and his more right-wing friends to call me off the story. My more left-wing Catholic friends couldn't believe what was happening. One night, at supper, Senator Gene McCarthy, visiting Rome, told me he thought I was going a bit too far. He chided me for manufacturing a motto for Cardinal Ottaviani that was too good to be true. "Come now," said McCarthy, "'Always the same?'" He was startled to learn that I hadn't made it up, that the cardinal really had emblazoned his coat of arms with "*Semper Idem*."

I never made up a quote; *Time*'s editors didn't challenge me. They seemed delighted with my stuff. They made Pope John XXIII Man of the Year. They sent me all over Europe to verify the story I had picked up at several of my dinner parties—that the church's best theologians were seeking to revise the traditional ban on birth control. And on this one, after clandestine interviews with the best theologians in Belgium, the Netherlands, West Germany, France, and Switzerland, I filed some 40,000 words that detailed their arguments in favor of responsible

planned parenthood, even if that meant using contraception.

Birth control seems rather banal now, with 85 or 90 percent of the Catholics in this country approving it as they do, but in 1964, the American bishops assaulted *Time's* editors, insisting that what I had been reporting just wasn't so. I can't imagine their thinking that I had made it all up (though readers did have to take it on faith that all those quotes did come from some of the church's top theologians, since I had guaranteed them anonymity and identified them only as, for example, "important theologians from the Lowlands" or "a German bishop"). But the American bishops hadn't been doing their homework. They didn't know enough then about the changes of thought in their own church to know that there was an explosive issue here that would soon blow up in the face of John XXIII's successor—and which would destroy his general credibility with Catholic liberals from then on.

As I say, *Time's* editors approved all this reporting of mine. It was only when Pope John's readiness to accommodate to new winds put him and the Roman Catholic church on a new political tack that *Time's* total enthusiasm for my dispatches cooled a degree or two. In 1962, *Time's* editors skimmed over my reporting of Pope John's friendliness to Communists in Italy and in Eastern Europe and ignored my reporting of Pope John's

role (mediated by Norman Cousins) in the easing of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. The editors failed to see the significance of Pope John's warm welcome to Khrushchev's daughter and son-in-law, the journalist Alexei Adzubei. And they puzzled over the rationale for all this kissy face, Pope John's encyclical, *Pacem In Terris*.

Henry Grunwald, now *Time's* managing editor, edited the World section then. He was a brilliant guy with the style and the charm (and the shape) of Henry Kissinger. Grunwald had written a great cover story on Pope Pius XII that opened with an anecdote about Stalin's hauteur vis-à-vis Rome: "The Pope? How many divisions has the Pope?" Grunwald had done his homework. He knew about Pope Pius XII's crusade against Communism and he didn't see how the church, so slow to change in so many other ways, could change its politics so fast. But this was a different pope living in different times. This pope didn't enjoy the embattled stance of Pius XII and if he didn't like it, there were, in the Sixties at least, millions of Catholics ready to go along with him—once they got the word.

Trouble was, I had a hell of a time getting it to them, at first. One day, I had a long conversation with Monseigneur Loris Capovilla, the pope's secretary. "The crusade is over," insisted Capovilla. He

made it clear he was speaking for his boss—and that he wasn't talking about the medieval crusade against Islam but the recent crusade against Communism. I cabled New York, suggesting that we do a full takeout on Pope John's new politics. Grunwald cabled back. If I remember his words correctly, he said, "You can't make me believe that the church is changing its attitude toward Communism."

That was a self-fulfilling prophecy. Reading that, I became more discouraged than I should have. I stopped trying so hard and told myself that if I was right, time (and then *Time*) would tell. I learned there were other ways a good *Time* correspondent could get a story told. I could, for example, write a book—and did, with the connivance of Clurman, who gave me six weeks off, with pay, to do it. The book had a portentous title in the United States (*Pope, Council and World*) but in England and Ireland the publishers gave it a John Gunther-ish handle, *Inside the Council*, and it was a No. 1 best-seller in London and Dublin for a few weeks. The book didn't have a fraction of *Time's* readership of course, but I also learned that there were other ways of getting things into *Time*. If I couldn't sell a story to New York on Monday, I could leak it to Sanche de Gramont, now the anagrammatic Ted Morgan, then of the New York *Herald Tribune*. He would have a by-lined story on Tuesday, and *Time's* edi-

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tors would read it and cable their breathless request for more details about "the de Gramont story in the *Herald Tribune*"—forgetting perhaps that they'd heard it from me first.

There were, of course, dozens of tales I heard or overheard at Time Inc., generally one-sided tales told by correspondents (the good guys) about the depredations of the editors (the bad guys). Many of us remember Charles Mohr, for example, whose singular reporting about the American prosecution of the war in Vietnam (long before most of us began to question our involvement there) was met with indifference and some hostility by the editors in New York, who gave Mohr's views on the war little space in the magazine.

I remember having lunch with Grunwald one day when I was visiting in New York. He had just finished typing a long letter to Mohr explaining his own side of the conflict. Over lunch, Henry tried to explain it to me, and though I have forgotten the details of what he told me, I still carry with me a picture of an editor who was trying to be the best foreign news editor in America. A less thoughtful editor might have run Mohr's stuff at length, but interpretative reporting as practiced at *Time* meant that Grunwald had his job to do, too. I'm not sure that Mohr ever went so far as to conclude that the United States was fighting on the wrong side in Vietnam. If he did, that was probably why he and Grunwald couldn't get together. Facts were one thing; conclusions another.

A correspondent had a chance to fight for his conclusions in his weekly files. Some weeks, he overwhelmed the editors in New York with facts that spoke for his conclusions. Sometimes he didn't. There came a point when Mohr figured the battle was no longer worth fighting. He quit *Time* and went over to the *New York Times* and, presumably, found the space there to tell the story of the war the way he saw it. Not that the *Times* is entirely free from charges of tampering with its correspondents' reporting of the Vietnam war, if scuttlebutt about the handling of some of David Halberstam's dispatches is true.

Then there were tales of editors themselves who finally decided to thumb their noses at certain *Time* taboos, and hang the consequences. One of these was my best friend on the magazine, Robert F. Jones, who wrote a debunking cover story one week on Jacqueline Kennedy. I never saw the story Jones wrote (from correspondents' files, to which I am sure Jones was faithful). But I am told that Jones wrote the piece in hydrochloric acid, and that his scathing treatment shocked the editors—not because they thought that Jones was too far off the mark, but because they felt that Jacqueline Kennedy had suffered enough after

the assassination of JFK, and that there were certain sacred cows even *Time*, for all its irreverence, simply stayed away from. (Though *Time* had gone along with rather critical files of mine about Pope Paul VI, managing editor Otto Fuerbringer had the editors in New York downplay my reporting about Cardinal James Francis McIntyre of Los Angeles. *Time* could criticize European cardinals then more easily than Americans.)

My guess is that Jones knew about the sacred cows all right: he was planning to leave *Time* anyway and I think he just wanted to see how far he could go. He was one of the best writers *Time* ever had but he, too, learned that even truth (as he saw it) had a limit. Needless to say, *Time* never ran his cover story on Jacqueline Kennedy. It is something I would like to read some day. In fact, it might be fun to publish a book of stories that were written but never ran in *Time*—along with correspondents' files that the editors chose to ignore.

So it was not a question of flat censorship at *Time*, just a classic battle between a reporter in the field and the editors in New York, who were worthy antagonists in a challenging game. I could break through their defenses with quick openers and off-tackle smashes (that is, with good reporting and thought-provoking interviews with a Capovilla or a Cardinal Suenens). Or, with the help of a de Gramont, I could run some traps and draws.

When I got into international politics, however, the game got a little tougher—Liebling's law again, because international politics was close to home. I might know the Vatican better than the editors in New York did, but what the hell could I tell them about the world's balance of power? In a way, every reporter's job is the same: to keep up with changes and then persuade the editors that there's been enough change out there to force them to readjust their categories once again. In order to cope with complexity, editors have to have some categories, or models of reality. The good editors, in my experience, were the ones who could take in new information and, no matter how much effort it took, give up the old models for some new ones. The bad editors, of course, just threw away the new information. New information is, of course, what the news is all about. Reporters, if they don't get mad and give up, should always end up in a dead heat with their editors as both come across the finish line with a good story.

I didn't see the *Time* operation in any other terms but these. If Henry Luce was still fighting the old crusade, I could understand any editor's temporizing efforts to go along for a while (and therefore get along). They had to support their families and their bartenders and their mistresses in the manner to which they had got them accustomed. And when I went back to

New York to receive the Overseas Press Club award in May 1963 for "the best magazine reporting of foreign affairs," I hardly felt ready to fight with Harry Luce. He gave a luncheon in my honor, with many of *Time*'s and *Life*'s top editors present in his private dining room. "I don't know how we can combine love with justice as John XXIII says we have to," I responded to one of Luce's argumentative questions, conveniently forgetting all the romantic tales I ever learned about kings and princes who loved their people and neighboring nations and were, in turn, loved by them. I guess I assumed that Luce would say, "Yes, but the Communists are different." And then I would have to say, "How the hell do you know that?"

I doubt if the Communists are different, any more ruthless, as a class, than any one with power anywhere: politicians, popes, promoters. In my journalist's opinion, all the power brokers need constant exposure by the press to keep them accountable to all the people at large. And I think Harry Luce believed that, too. He told me once that a good journalist couldn't afford to have friends—and by that, I believe, he meant friends in high places whose continuing friendship was predicated on friendly reviews and friendly concealments.

In this, I believe Luce practiced what he preached. He had a lot of acquaintances, but few friends outside journalism itself. And I think he was one of the best journalists of the century because he found brilliant new ways of making an entire people more informed.

To illustrate, by way of contrast, I set Henry Luce, the journalist, at one end of the scale and Mike Cowles, the operator, at the other. I quit *Time* in 1966 to help Tom Braden campaign for lieutenant governor of California and then *Look* made me an offer that looked great at the time. *Look* made me a contract writer. I only had to produce five text pieces a year, at more than my *Time* salary. I forgot about *Time*'s fringe benefits, which were more than financial. *Time* had a host of good editors and I admired every one of them, including the solid Grunwald. *Look* had some good writers, including George Harris, Joe Roddy, George Leonard, Leonard Gross, and Gerry Astor, but the editors were a sorry, cowardly lot who never asked, "Why?" when Cowles said jump, but only, "How high?"

On assignment for *Look* with photographer Paul Fusco in 1967, I did a story on Cesar Chavez that may have been the best magazine piece I ever did, or almost did. As laid out in eight pages by art director Will Hopkins, the text and the headlines and Fusco's searing photos told a story of the farmworkers' struggle in California against the agribusiness combines (and the liquor giants like Schenley who were then get-

ting into the wine business in a big way) with a moving, biblical simplicity. Editor Martin Goldman almost caressed the copy when he handed it to Patricia Carbine and Bob Meskill, the managing editors who assigned the story, and they sent it off to be put on the presses in Chicago. Then Mike Cowles saw the proofs. He ordered the story killed. Carbine and Goldman later told me that Cowles's friends at Schenley would not have liked my story. Carbine and Goldman resigned in protest. Then Cowles had Bill Arthur give them good raises to stick around, with a promise that the Chavez piece would run. They stuck. But guess what happened to the Chavez story? Meskill rewrote it by cutting out the best lines in it and blunting every pointed word that was left. Fusco's pictures no longer made any sense and the headlines (referring to "sharecroppers," a breed that never existed in the West) turned out to be nothing but dumb. I told Meskill where he could stick it and months later *Look* ran a vapid column on Chavez alongside a few of Fusco's frames, now drastically reduced in size. There was no mention of Schenley.

LOOK, I'm sure, had many more blatant examples of censorship than *Time* did. At *Time*, a correspondent's file could be dumped because it was only one of many on the same subject—and who would second-guess a writer's or an editor's artistic judgment on

which file he wanted to lean on? But at *Look*, a man wrote a story and it was his alone. If the editors—or the editors' friends—did not like it, bang, the story was dead.

Thus the editor at *Look* spiked a story of mine about a group of phonies in Santa Barbara who called themselves the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions when the Center put pressure on *Look*. In the story, I focused on a former Little Rock editor named Harry Ashmore who, before he became vice president of the Center, had written some mildly liberal editorials criticizing Orville Faubus. Possibly because he was a Southerner attacking the old-line segregationist South, Ashmore won a Pulitzer Prize or two. But exercising intrepid journalism and standing by while someone else tried to do so at Ashmore's expense were two different things.

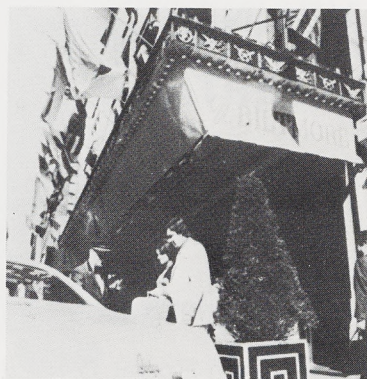
I had found Ashmore engaged in some kind of two-bit, private-citizen diplomacy for the Center, undertaking secret trips to Hanoi so he could bring back such startling bits of information as the fact that Ho Chi Minh was a gentleman, who spoke in rhyming couplets. I found Ashmore's stance somewhat ridiculous, but in the story I wrote for *Look*, I didn't have to say it was ridiculous: all I had to do was describe what Ashmore was doing. Well, Ashmore got wind of what I had written and guess what the Pulitzer Prize-winner did? Why, he had my story killed at *Look*. He threatened to call a news

conference and break certain news angles of the story (which would run in the daily press and hurt the news value of my story). So *Look* dropped my story. It wasn't censorship. *Look* just wouldn't want to run old news, would it?

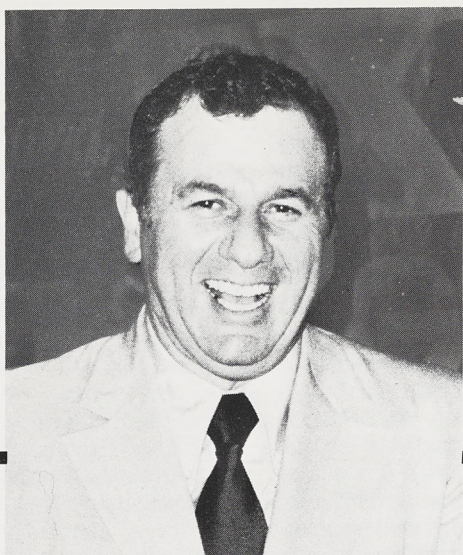
However, the screwing I took on that one didn't bother me as much as something that happened to another writer at *Look*, Chandler Brossard. Brossard was a senior editor of some standing who did a long, intricate piece in 1967 praising the efforts of Jim Garrison to find the co-conspirators in the assassination of President Kennedy. The story went counter to the prevailing New York media prejudices against assassination buffs (even if the buff happened to be the district attorney of New Orleans), so editor Bill Arthur simply spiked it—and fired Brossard when Brossard told him what kind of horse's ass he was. Bill Arthur is now the director of a press council, funded by some foundations to investigate the sins of the national press.

In my mind's eye then I could see Luce's eyebrows working up and down and hear his almost sing-song cadence: "I don't give a damn about losing \$10-million worth of advertising in *Life*. All I care about is the truth." My mind's eye then cut quickly to Mike Cowles's penthouse in New York, where he was toasting one of his friends from Schenley with the words of Pontius Pilate, "What is truth?" ■

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ENDURING TIMIDITY ON THE WIRE SERVICES

By JOHN M. PEARCE

The two major American wire services have only two wares to sell: the 24-hour flow of news on their vast Teletype networks, and a reputation for utter objectivity—for the type of story that will be judged acceptable and printed by newspapers as diverse as *The New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic*.

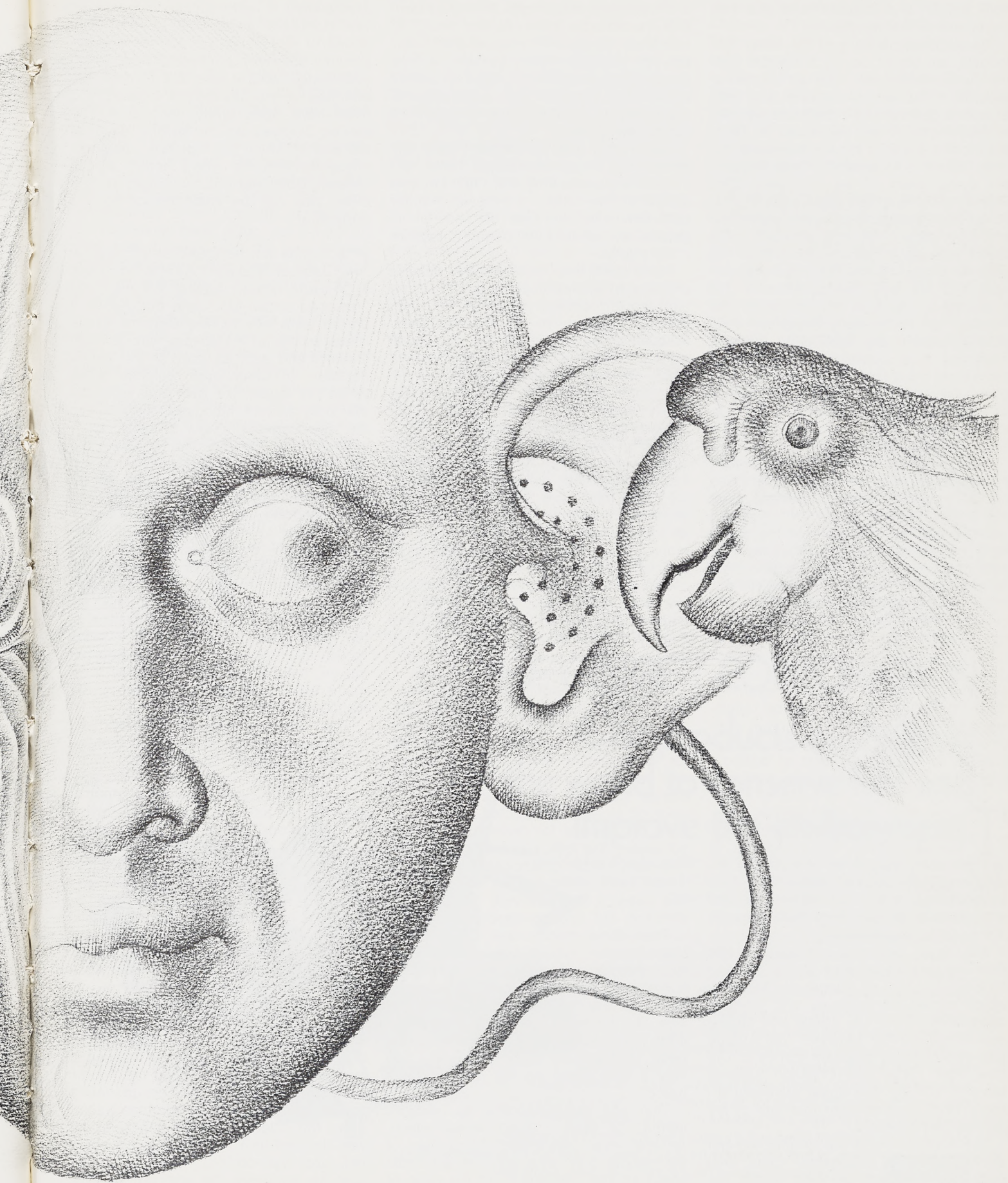
But it is just this 1950s sort of objectivity—the “just the facts, ma’am” approach—that breeds excessive caution. Combined with a healthy respect for authority figures (both services are in fact an integral part of the press establishment), such caution can so get in the way of full reporting that the meaning of an event is obscured or lost entirely.

In its most subtle and insidious form, that is one type of self-censorship. It is unconscious censorship of one institution by another. An overheated critic of the news agencies, which I am not, might call it rape by consent.

At its outer limit, this sort of attitude leads to unwillingness by editors to allow on the wire any assertion that can't be pinned directly on someone—preferably someone of authority. And in the trenches, it leads reporters to bring that most omniscient and readily quotable source, the “observer,” into play. When a wire service story relates that “observers believe” something, you can be reasonably certain the observers are the reporters involved and their pressroom colleagues. There's usually nothing unsound about the observation, and where politics is concerned, it may be the most

John M. Pearce worked for newspapers in Texas before joining the Associated Press in the mid-1960s. He is now a stockbroker in Washington.





reasonable and least biased view available. But it is a charade, and one that ought not to be necessary.

These observations, and the essay that follows, are based on my five years with the Associated Press, first as a general reporter in Jackson, Mississippi, and then as both a general and economics reporter in Washington. I left that world in 1971, but I look back on it fondly, especially the time I spent in Mississippi. I was there in the dying years of the interracial Civil Rights movement, and spent a good deal of my time writing about black politicians and candidates. I thought, and still think, that I was permitted to see a late but genuine phase of the American Revolution, and for that reason some of the problems I had with editors upset me deeply. This is an essay about self-censorship, and in any such effort the bad examples must outweigh the good. But there were good times, times when courageous editors disregarded the bitter views of Mississippi newspaper editors—and in those cases I must conclude that AP's objectivity was a definite plus.

Most of what follows comes directly from personal experience, but since I was out of the wire service business (and out of the country) when new social issues developed, I have picked the minds of a half-dozen former colleagues and current friends. Most of them shall remain nameless here, because they are still active in the business and because my conclusions don't always match theirs. But my interviews with them give me ample grounds to hope that some of the problems we had in the late 1960s would not be problems today. Reporters, even the most "objective" of wire service reporters, have taken part in the general consciousness-raising of past years and refuse to sit still for the sort of editing I only bitched quietly about.

To my mind, the most serious problem of self-censorship within both wire services (or news agencies, to use the term they prefer) is the quiet, institutional sort—the soft-peddling of controversial topics or unwillingness to deal with them at all until they have become dinner-table conversation.

The most pertinent example of this from my own experience is the massive national furor over hunger in America, which stirred consciences and political candidates in the late 1960s and spilled over into the '70s. Much of the outrage was generated by poignant stories in *The New York Times* and *Christian Science Monitor*, but my own anger stemmed directly from the treatment that one of my articles had received.

The focal point of the original hunger stories was the Mississippi Delta, that once-fertile stretch of land along the Mississippi River that had produced so much of the cotton- and slave-based

wealth before the Civil War. Its "capital" is Greenwood, Mississippi, a languid town with comfortable brick homes along its tree-lined streets and innumerable shanties for displaced farm workers. It is a town of poor blacks run by and for poorer whites. And the latter had a pathological resistance to anything that smacked of public assistance.

Greenwood was no different from any other town in the Mississippi Delta, but it was there one spring that I first became aware of the sheer, unrelieved hunger that dominated the lives of many of its people, and where I first began to explore it more fully.

In my spare time I visited the unpainted shanties of sharecroppers and one-time farm-worker families who were not even fortunate enough to be sharecroppers. Frequently accompanied by a social worker, I saw firsthand how welcome a black welfare worker could be in the two-room house of a six-person white family when the "welfare lady" could bring even a can of potatoes.

After a few weeks of this I wrote my story, a long one by AP standards, about the farm laborers displaced by machinery, how they were sometimes allowed to live on the farm without rent, but with no income and none likely, and with no money for utilities or frequently even food. A balanced diet was only a dream.

Some of the landowners were cooperative and some weren't. All of them, I came to realize, were victims of the same change in the economic environment, but the farmers were cushioned by their land, while the laboring families had nothing.

The story, I thought (and my editors in New Orleans thought), was a good one, and worthy of more than standard wire treatment. So it was mailed to New York for consideration by AP Newsfeatures, the special unit that produces longer stories, generally for Sunday editions. It went off in May. I expected some questions or requests for revisions, but I did not expect the total silence that followed. The story simply disappeared, as though it had been swallowed up by the earth. We knew it had arrived, because we checked, but nothing happened.

Then, three months later, the "Mississippi hunger" stories began to appear. Congressmen, especially Senator Robert F. Kennedy, showed interest in the problem. One day my story appeared on the wire. But it was no longer my story. Time dims the exact wording, but the lead had been rewritten to something like, "It's only a little cabin on the farm, but it's home."

That was self-censorship by inaction, inertia, or fear—I don't know which. Another case was direct, blind fear of the people both wire services are most afraid of, the "members" in the case of the AP, which is organized as a cooperative, and the "clients" in the case of UPI.

A small-town Mississippi legislator, who also owned a radio station, came under fire from his colleagues in the state house of representatives for some questionable activity. I don't recall now, seven years later, what it was, but to draw the attention of the Mississippi legislature it must have been pretty noticeable. The stories dragged on for several days, at the end of which the legislator resigned, citing his and his wife's health as the reason. Both were ill, but that, it was clear, was not the basic reason for his departure.

Someone on the four-man AP staff in Jackson (I wasn't directly involved) wrote a story saying the man had "resigned under fire," and dispatched it on the state wire to New Orleans, where it was edited for the special wire to radio stations and sent as part of the hourly package of state and regional news. When the legislator's own staff repeated the story to him he immediately called the news editor in New Orleans, complained that the idiots in Jackson had maligned a poor, ill legislator who had been forced to give up his public service job entirely because of his health, and demanded that the story be withdrawn.

Implicit in any sort of conversation like that was the threat that the next call would be to New York. Perhaps the editor hadn't been following the story, or simply feared for his job, or just didn't think, but in any event he sent out a kill notice on the radio wire. It made him look pretty foolish to those who knew what was going on, but the damage was done. It remains one of the silliest examples of unjustified fear in my memory.

That case made us all look silly, but in retrospect no one can say it misrepresented the status of one of the major American social phenomena of the century, the Civil Rights movement. Another example did risk less than full disclosure of at least one part of that phenomenon: I was called about two o'clock one morning to drive to Natchez, a pre-Civil War town on the Mississippi River, where a riot had broken out the night before. By the time I arrived the town was under Highway Patrol guard and curfew, and there was little left to see except broken glass and policemen armed with shotguns.

I drifted toward the parking lot of a drive-in grocery store where the Highway Patrol cars had gathered. I kept a good distance between myself and the patrolmen—they scarcely tolerated the "northern press" and were best not provoked.

As I watched, an old black man walked down the sidewalk across the street. He was dressed in a black suit, a tie, and a hat, and was obviously going to work. Just as obviously, he was not the sort to be out throwing bricks, but that distinction didn't matter to the four patrolmen

who stopped him. They asked him where he was going and when his reply didn't please them one of them knocked him to the ground with a shotgun butt. Then he was arrested—I never could find out the charge, because the patrolmen disappeared and the man was too frightened to talk to me when I saw him, head bloody, in the jail.

I put it into the story, several paragraphs from the top. But when the dispatch was sent on the national wire, that part had disappeared. Why? The editor thought there wasn't enough information. He may have been right, but I had all there was to have, and the loss of that part of the story subtly altered the meaning of my entire story. It was not a pretty moment.

Enough of the past. Those are horrible examples out of another time, another place. The situation in the here-and-now is more subtle, but still difficult. One of the major problems a former wire-service reporter had was "the fact that you cover incremental details without ever looking back." This leads to almost comical situations: One official of a government agency says one thing, usually on a not-for-attribution basis, and the story is written. The next day his superior says something quite opposite to the first story; his assertion is written, and the subordinate's assertion becomes a non-event. It exists, but it won't be mentioned again.

A lot depends on who makes the as-

sertion. Norman Kempster, now a White House reporter for the *Washington Star-News* and an alumnus of UPI, recalls that during his days in the Olympia, Washington, bureau he became aware that the state's highway director—a politician in his own right, even though his position was appointive—planned to resign to become chief engineer for San Francisco's new transit system—BART. The man denied it, so Kempster wrote that his sources said the man would resign, but the official himself said no. His editors rewrote the story to lead with the denial and, predictably, a few weeks later the resignation was submitted. It was a case of over-zealous respect for an authority figure.

That sort of story gets extremely sensitive when it begins to deal with the motives of public officials. One prominent newspaper correspondent in Washington frequently objects that wire service stories give little of the political atmosphere surrounding the event, so that the meaning is almost totally obscured. One example, cited by more than one person, is the treatment of stories about the way Congress operates.

"The wires will write that Congressman Blank referred a bill to a certain committee," this correspondent said. "What they don't say is that the bill was sent to that committee to kill it."

Wire service reporting in the 1970s has its other problems. One is AP's policy on use of the word "Chicano." One reporter said pressure from right-wing pub-

lishers in the South, mainly in Texas, had led to a ban on referring to anyone as a Chicano unless the description is prefixed with some phrase such as "who calls himself. . . ."

The same rule now applies to "Ms." The wire service rule that women are married or single, but men are men, still holds. When Gloria Steinem is called Ms. Steinem, it must be spelled out in so many words that Ms. is "a term she prefers."

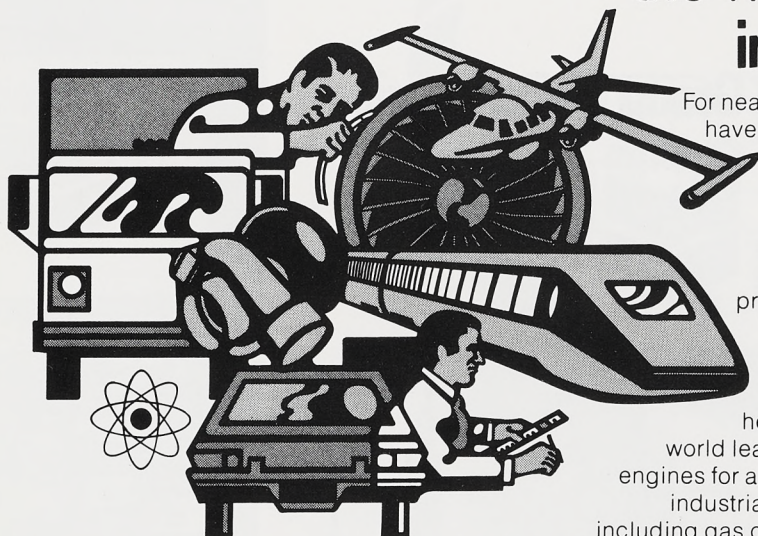
"I'm simply not going to chase after witnesses at congressional hearings and ask if they are married or not," one reporter said. Like many another dictum, this one is being fought with guerrilla tactics, not openly. The wire services may have accepted the unions, but not Chicano or Ms. Why? It's back to economics—the "members" or "clients" don't like it.

Why are the wire services so slow to react to new social climates?

Their owners-customers are, by and large, the essence of the Establishment. In a good many cases, they are the center of power in their own area. In thousands of medium-sized towns, the most powerful men are the newspaper publisher and the bank presidents, and they court and are courted by the local congressman. And not one of them got where they are now by challenging the way their fathers before them ran the town. ■

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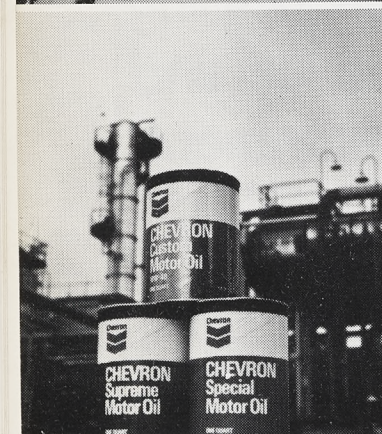
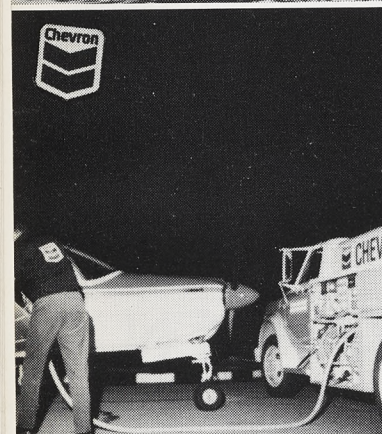
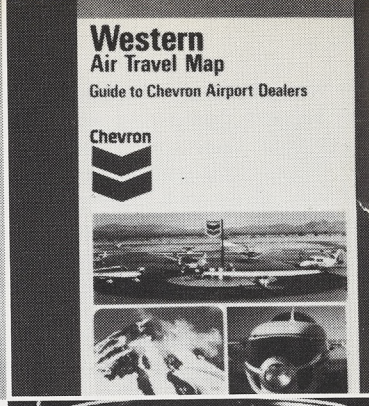
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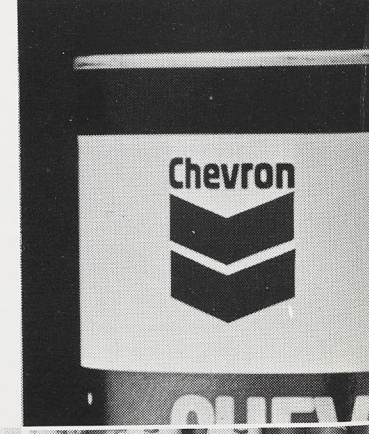

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To: Lowell Thomas

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Perhaps no individual correspondent could succeed to such honors as Lowell Thomas—and from the outset of his career. Has anyone ever been better equipped than the Lowell Thomas of sixty years ago, who set out to inform not just the United States, but the entire world, about itself?

The young reporter from Cripple Creek had already become a big city newsman in Denver, an attorney and law school instructor in Chicago, a postgraduate student of constitutional law and, for two years, an instructor on the faculty of Princeton University, before crossing the seas to join Allenby on the embattled road to Jerusalem. He was not yet twenty-five years old.

His reporting, literally, made history. Without Lowell Thomas, who would have known of Lawrence of Arabia, whose own superiors strove to conceal his achievements?

The generations then and since have thrilled—yes, *thrilled*, and of how many can that word be used?—to his discoveries, his reporting, and his own exploits in the process. In fifty-three books, on many hundreds of lecture platforms, in forty-four years of radio broadcasts, in the first TV news broadcast and countless TV programs since, he has informed. And he has done this not only from places where none had done so before, but where few have had the temerity to follow since. Literally from pole to pole, by camel and mule to the first air circumnavigation of the globe, from New York, through Paris, Rome, through darkest Africa to Delhi and Katmandu across the Himalayas and forbidden Tibet to Lhasa no other person can have seen all that Lowell Thomas has faithfully recorded in print, on film, and over the air.

It is estimated that more than 100 *billion* persons have heard Lowell Thomas's voice at one time or another, in person, broadcast, telecast and film—a greater audience than any man has enjoyed in history.

CLASS 1

Best daily newspaper or wire service
reporting from abroad



ROBERT G. KAISER
Washington Post
"Russian Lifetime"

Bob Kaiser, who turned thirty-two a week before the OPC awards dinner, worked on the "Russian Lifetime" series for nearly two years while he was Moscow correspondent for the *Washington Post*.

The series grew out of the questions his American friends asked him about Russia. "No one wanted to know more about Brezhnev; few wanted more on Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn," says Kaiser, "but everyone asked for details of everyday life. So I began to learn all I could about Russians, their children, and their entire life cycle." The resulting series stayed on the front page of the *Post* for a full week at the same time Watergate was breaking.

Kaiser is currently on leave from the *Post*, writing a book on Russia and serving as a visiting professor at Duke University. On August 1 he returns to the *Post*, to resume the career he started with that paper during the summer of 1963,

a year before his graduation from Yale.

In addition to his Moscow assignment, Kaiser has also served in the London bureau of the *Post*, in Saigon as Southeast Asian correspondent, and on the metropolitan staff of the paper. He writes frequently for *Esquire* and *New York* magazine. His first book *Cold Winter, Cold War* was published in January 1974 by Stein and Day.

Kaiser's interest in foreign affairs stems in part from a lifelong immersion in international politics. His father, Philip M. Kaiser, was assistant secretary of labor for international affairs in the Truman administration, ambassador to Senegal for John Kennedy, and minister in London during the Johnson years.

Kaiser's previous awards include the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild Prize for Distinguished International Reporting in 1972.

Class 1

Citations:

Holger Jensen, AP, "Reports on Cyprus and Palestine."

Smith Hempstone, *Washington Star*,

"War Without Witnesses—Kurdistan."

Christopher Wren, *New York Times*,

"Climbing the Russian Caucasus."

CLASS 2

Best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation
of foreign affairs

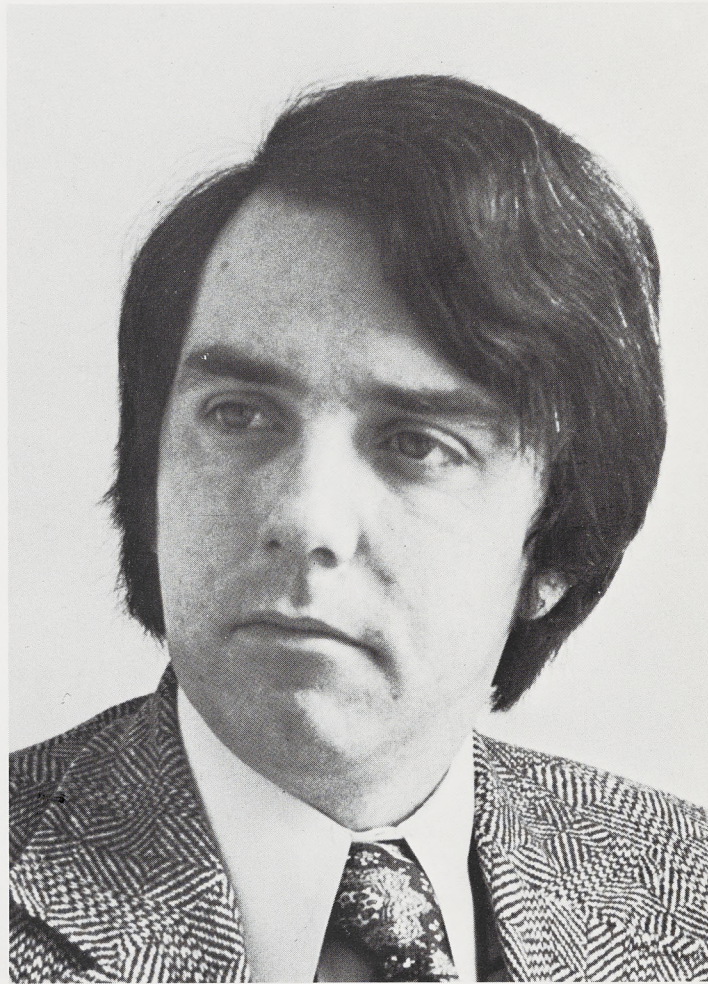


DONALD L. BARLETT
JAMES B. STEELE
Philadelphia Inquirer

"Foreign Aid: The Flawed Dream"

Donald L. Barlett has been an investigative reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* since 1970 and previously was with the *Chicago Daily News* and *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

A native of DuBois, Pennsylvania, Barlett grew up in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and attended Pennsylvania State University. He served for three years as a special agent with the Army Counterintelligence Corps before becoming a newspaper reporter. He also served as a general assignment reporter for the *Akron Beacon-Journal* and the *Reading Times* in Pennsylvania.



James Steele also joined the *Inquirer* in September 1970, as an urban affairs specialist.

His earlier newspaper experience was with the *Kansas City Star*, where he earned a reputation reporting on labor, urban affairs, and local politics.

Steele, thirty-three years old, was born in Hutchinson, Kansas, and spent most of his youth in Kansas City, Missouri. He graduated from the University of Missouri in Kansas City.

Class 2

Citation:
Takashi Oka, *Christian Science Monitor*,
"The World's Struggle for Resources."

CLASS 3

Best daily newspaper or wire service
photographic reporting from abroad



OVIE CARTER
Chicago Tribune

"The Faces of Hunger"

Within days after Ovie Carter's six-part series on "The Faces of Hunger" ran in the *Chicago Tribune*, he began receiving accolades for his unique ability to capture the devastation that hunger wreaks upon human beings. Prior to this Overseas Press Club Award for excellence in daily newspaper or wire service photography from abroad, his series had already won the *Chicago Tribune's* own highest honor for journalistic excellence, the Edward Scott Beck Award, and a few weeks ago it won the Chicago Press Photographers' Association award.

Carter was born in 1946 in Indianola, Mississippi. His early schooling was in St. Louis, and he attended Forest Park Community College there until he joined the U.S. Air Force. Following his discharge from the Air Force in 1967,

Carter studied photography at the Ray-Vogue School of Photography in Chicago, and then landed a job as a lab assistant at the *Chicago Tribune* in 1969. In only four months he became a general assignment photographer for the *Tribune*.

Carter's awards for excellence began almost immediately. And they culminated in his being named the "Illinois Press Photographer of the Year" for 1972 and 1973.

Carter, a member of the Black Journalists' Association, the National, the Illinois, and the Chicago Press Photographers Associations, is married and the father of two sons. He lives on Chicago's South Side, where he is active in helping underprivileged children interested in photography.

He considers "The Faces of Hunger" his most challenging and rewarding assignment.

Class 3

Citation:

The *Minneapolis Tribune*, for Earl Seubert's "The Battle of Britain," "Vietnam Revisited," and "A Cambodian Village"; and for Kent Kobersteen's "The Sahel Africa—Legacy of Drought."

CLASS 4

Best photographic reporting or interpretation
from abroad in a magazine or book



EDDIE ADAMS
Time

"Oil Potentates and Their Realms"

Eddie Adams has been a contract photographer for *Time* since April 1972.

For ten years he worked as a special assignment photographer for the Associated Press, and from a New York base his assignments ranged from sports coverage to front-line war photography throughout the world.

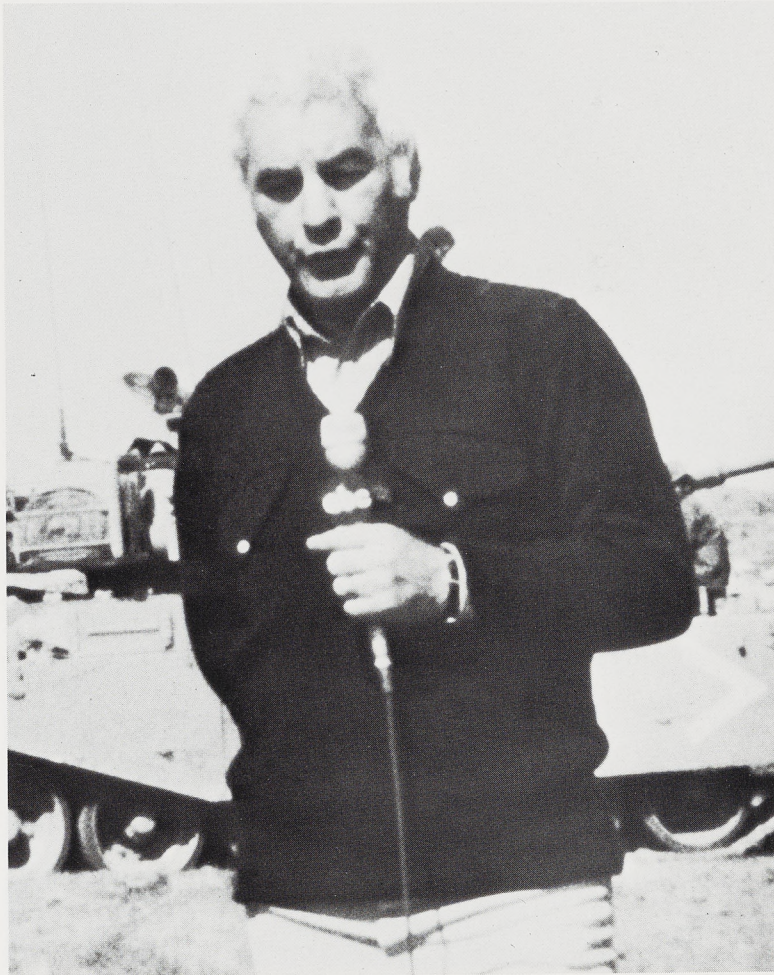
He has won numerous local, state, regional, national, and international awards for his news photography.

Adams, who is forty-one, is married and has three children.

(No citation in Class 4)

CLASS 5

Best radio spot news reporting from abroad



LOU CIOFFI

ABC RADIO NEWS TEAM

Coverage of the Invasion of Cyprus

The war on Cyprus began on Saturday morning, July 20, 1974, when Turkish tanks and troops landed at Kyrenia on the northern coast at dawn, and Turkish forces parachuted into Nicosia.

Most of the fighting in Nicosia that first morning centered around the Ledra Palace Hotel, which straddles the "blue line" dividing the Greek and Turkish sections of the city. ABC News correspondent Lou Cioffi was at the besieged Ledra Palace in the thick of the fighting.

Cioffi's reports were the first of hundreds of stories filed by a team of ABC correspondents, who brought the news of Cyprus to the listeners of the various ABC radio networks.

The team effort included on-the-scene reports, analyses, perspectives, the voices of the newsmakers, and the sounds

of the fighting. The effort ranged from Cyprus to Athens, Ankara, Washington, and the United Nations.

Other members of the ABC news team include: Hilary Brown, Sam Cohen, Arnold Collins, John Cooley, Barry Dunsmore, David Egli, Don Farmer, Joe Fitchett, Jim Giggans, Tom Jarriel, Jerry King, Ted Koppel, John MacVane, Andrew Meisels, Peter Mellas, Bill Seamans, and Ernest Weatherall.

Cioffi is chief of the ABC Paris news bureau and has been with ABC since 1961. He earned a niche in history on July 24, 1962, when, at 5:34 PM, EDT, he delivered the first live newscast from Europe to the United States via Telstar satellite. He began his broadcast news career as a copyboy with CBS in New York in 1947.

(No citation in Class 5)

CLASS 6

Best radio interpretation of foreign affairs



JOHN CHANCELLOR
NBC

Excellence in interpretation from the field, especially on foreign trips by President Ford and Secretary Kissinger

John Chancellor is one of the few journalists in America who needs virtually no introduction. His job as anchorman of the "NBC-TV Nightly News" and his frequent radio commentaries bring him to the daily attention of millions of Americans.

His award this year marks the second such OPC laurel in this category—he won an identical prize in the 1972 competition.

Chancellor was born in Chicago, attended the University of Illinois, and after service in the U.S. Army joined the *Chicago*

Sun-Times in 1948. His career with NBC began two years later, and with the exception of two years spent as director of the "Voice of America," he has been with NBC since 1950. He has covered every presidential campaign during this period and has served in the NBC bureaus in Vienna, London, Moscow, Brussels, and Berlin.

His reporting of virtually every event of significance for more than two decades has earned him numerous awards and citations. He is married to the former Barbara Upshaw and is now based in New York City.

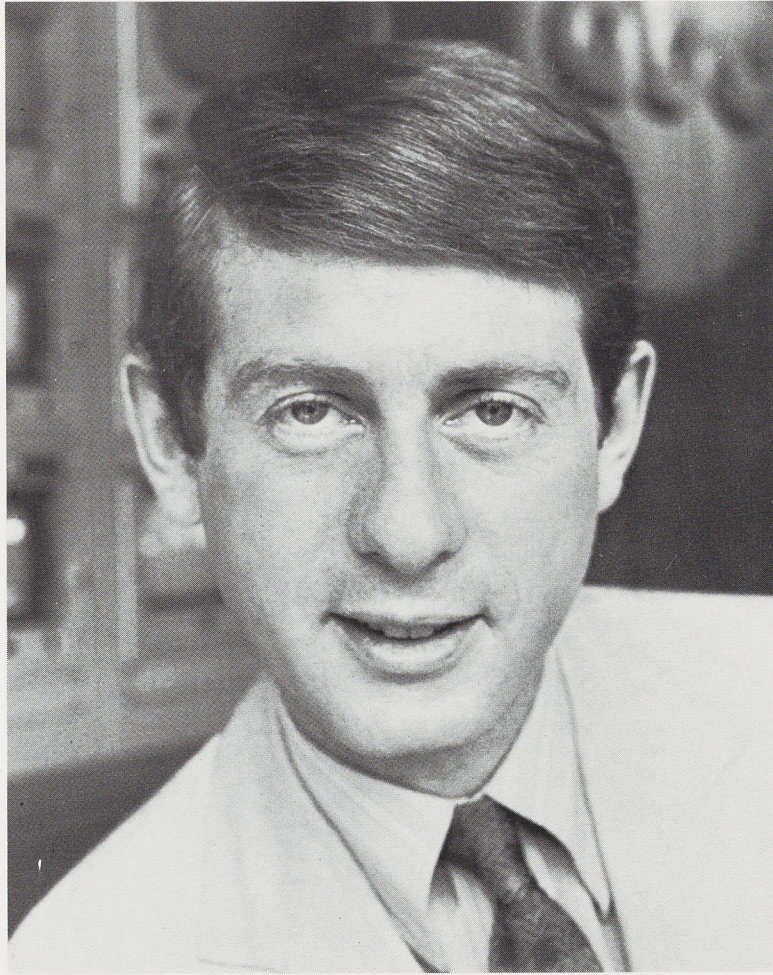
Class 6

Citation:

Marvin Kalb, CBS News, for general excellence in interpretation of events abroad.

CLASS 7

Best radio documentary on foreign affairs



TED KOPPEL
ABC

"Update—Kissinger on Kissinger"

"U pdate" is a weekly twenty-five-minute documentary program broadcast by affiliates of the American Entertainment and American FM radio networks. It covers a broad range of national and international stories.

The "Kissinger on Kissinger" documentary is a portrait in sound of the man who was and is the most dynamic member of the administration.

For several months last year, ABC diplomatic correspondent Ted Koppel conducted a series of interviews with the secretary of state, which gave a unique insight into the man and his job.

The "Update" documentaries are produced by Michael

H. Stein, written by Gil Longin, and feature Koppel and other correspondents.

Koppel has served as diplomatic correspondent since 1971 and knows Dr. Kissinger perhaps as well as any other American correspondent.

Born in England, Koppel graduated from Syracuse University and has an M.A. from Stanford in journalism. He won the 1971 OPC award for best television commentary on foreign news.

Koppel has served as ABC correspondent in Hong Kong, and has covered stories in most major countries abroad.

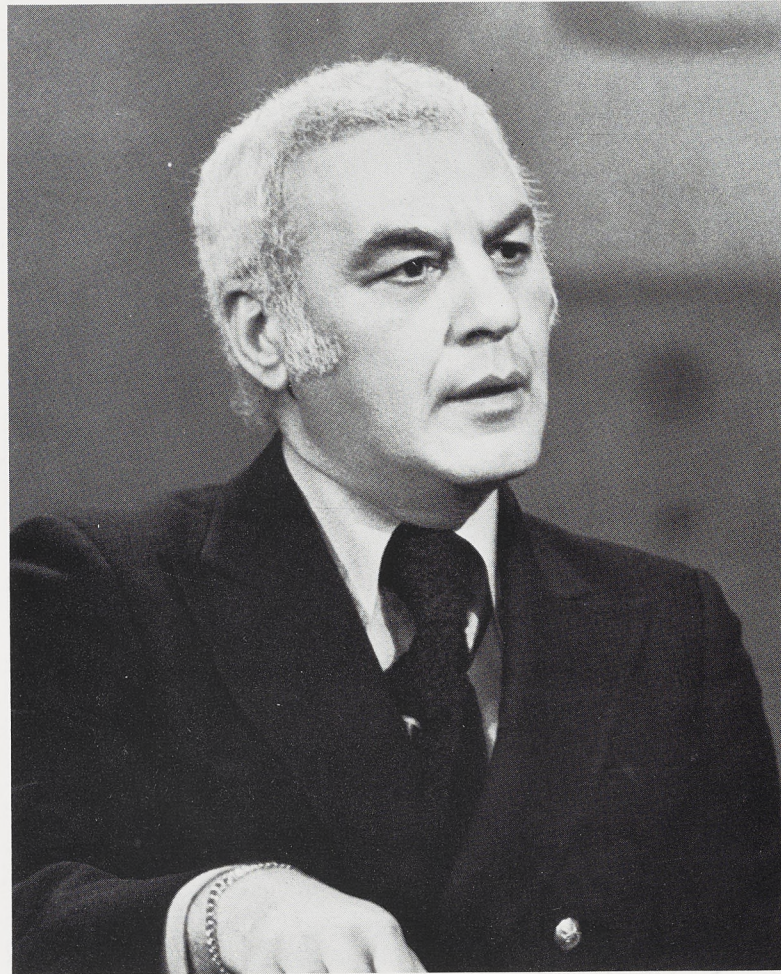
Class 7

Citation:

Frank Mariano, ABC Radio News-Update,
"Reflections on Vietnam—A Ten-Year
Experience."

CLASS 8

Best TV spot news reporting from abroad



LOU CIOFFI
ABC

Coverage of the Ambassador Davies Shooting

Lou Cioffi's coverage of the Cyprus war also has earned him a share of the best radio spot news award from the OPC this year. His television award is for his coverage of the rampaging mob outside the American mission in Nicosia, the firing upon the mission, and the killing of the U.S. ambassador inside the embassy.

War coverage is not new to Cioffi. As a CBS correspondent he covered the Algerian revolution in 1958, the revolt of the French generals, and OAS terrorism in France and Algeria.

From 1965 to 1967 Cioffi spent alternate months in Vietnam

covering the war for ABC radio and television. He was serving as ABC's Tokyo bureau chief at the time.

Cioffi is presently ABC Paris bureau chief. Earlier assignments have been as Bonn bureau chief and covering important stories in Korea, Pakistan, the United Nations, and throughout the United States.

Cioffi is a native New Yorker, attended CCNY and Muhlenberg College, and served in the Navy in World War II. He, his wife, and their two children presently reside in Paris.

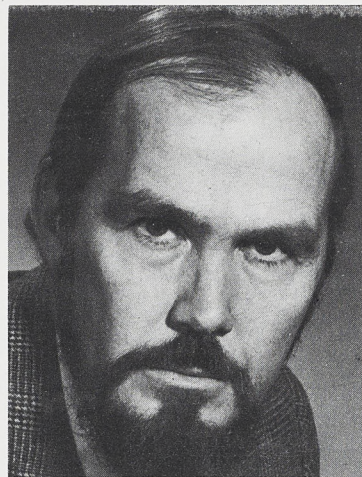
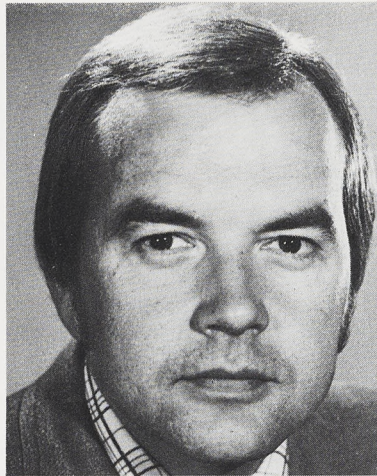
Class 8

Citation:

Garrick Utley, NBC Nightly News,
"August 20 Dispatch from Nicosia."

CLASS 9

Best TV interpretation of foreign affairs



JOHN PALMER, PHIL BRADY, LIZ TROTТА
and TOM STREITHORST
NBC

Four-part series on world hunger

In March 1974 NBC Nightly News began airing a series of special reports on the effects of the increasingly critical world food shortage.

The first was filed from Northern Ethiopia by John Palmer, who investigated the impact of that country's three-year drought, the deaths of thousands of villagers, and snags that subverted aid from the international relief agencies which tried to help.

On May 13 Phil Brady reported from the State of Bihar in Eastern India on that nation's nightmarish and never-ending struggle for subsistence. His report focused on the life of a sheetmetal worker earning four dollars a month.

Tom Streithorst went to the outskirts of Caracas for his report, filed on June 3, where he found thousands of people living in an enormous garbage dump which services Caracas. The oil wealth of Venezuela is completely unknown to these

people who, while not technically starving, are suffering the ravages of acute malnutrition.

Liz Trotta's report, broadcast June 25, showed how the food crisis can change traditional living patterns of an entire society. The story centered on the desert nomads in Mauritania. A seven-year drought in that West African country has ruined the land and killed grazing herds which supported the tribesmen—who in a fight to survive had descended on already overpopulated cities, creating not only a crisis of hunger but social and government upheaval as well.

Palmer, who joined NBC in 1963, is now Middle East correspondent based in Beirut; Streithorst has been with NBC since 1958 and is Latin American correspondent; Trotta has been with NBC since 1965 and is a correspondent in London; Brady has spent much of his NBC career in Southeast Asia and is now based in New York.

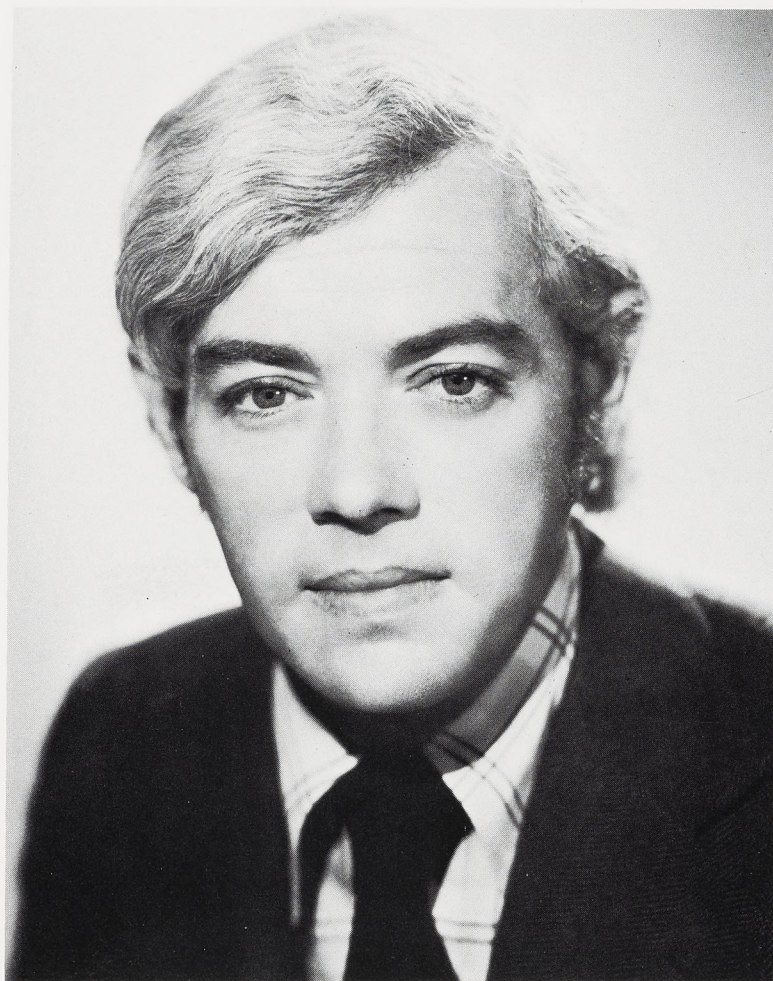
Class 9

Citation:

Dan Rather, CBS News, "CBS Reports—
Castro, Cuba, U.S.A."

CLASS 10

Best television documentary on foreign affairs



BILL McLAUGHLIN
CBS

"CBS Reports: The Palestinians"

"The Palestinians" was aired on the CBS Television Network on June 15, 1974, and featured an in-depth, exclusive interview by correspondent Bill McLaughlin with Yasir Arafat, the first TV interview the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization granted in over four years.

McLaughlin, who was head of the CBS Bureau in Beirut at the time of the broadcast—he is now based in Paris—describes the Palestinians as "a mixture of Philistines, Canaanites, Hittites, Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, a bitter people who feel as if the world is making them pay a debt they do not owe." The hour-long special included interviews

with Palestinian refugees and leaders and films of Palestinian guerilla camps.

Working with McLaughlin on the special was Howard Stringer, a Welshman, Oxford graduate, and CBS News producer-director. He produced and wrote "The Palestinians."

Perry Wolff, who has been with CBS News since 1947, was executive producer of the special, and several of his previous specials and documentaries have won high acclaim and awards. He is a Chicago native, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, and also holds an engineering degree from Lehigh University.

Class 10

Citation:

Hill Bermont, WGTU, Athens, Georgia,
"The Bikinians."

CLASS 11

Best magazine reporting from abroad



FRANCES FITZGERALD
Harper's

"Giving the Shah Everything He Wants"

For more than a decade the work of Frances FitzGerald has provided some of the most perceptive and exciting magazine journalism in America. Following her graduation from Radcliffe in 1962, FitzGerald worked for two years with the Paris-based Congress for Cultural Freedom and traveled extensively through Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. By 1964, however, she had begun her career as a magazine writer, providing features for the *New York Herald-Tribune Sunday Magazine*.

In February 1966, FitzGerald went to Vietnam as a free-lancer, staying for nearly a year, and writing on the politics, and the social and economic conditions of Vietnam for *Atlantic*, the *New York Times Magazine*, the *Village Voice* and *Vogue*. She won the 1967 Overseas Press Club award for "best interpretation of foreign affairs."

Class 11

Citation:

Andrew Nagorski and Peter Young-husband, *Newsweek*, "Black Africa Moves South."

Also in that year she wrote *Fire in the Lake*, a book which revealed her own observations and studies of Vietnam, and which won the 1973 National Book Award in contemporary affairs.

FitzGerald lives in New York, but travels widely throughout the world. Among her recent assignments have been a trip to North Vietnam for the *New Yorker*, a reporting assignment in Northern Ireland for *Redbook*, as well as the present award-winning assignment in Iran for *Harper's*.

"Giving the Shah Everything He Wants," which was commissioned by *Harper's*, was widely acclaimed at the time of its publication, and was syndicated to over a dozen of the major newspapers in the United States, adding to the impact of its appearance in *Harper's*.

CLASS 12

Best magazine interpretation of foreign affairs



ROBERT SHAPLEN
The New Yorker

"Letters from Thailand, Indonesia, and Tokyo"

Robert Shaplen was born in Philadelphia in 1917 and has been a specialist on the Pacific and Southeast Asia since the early 1940's. He is presently based, with his wife and three children, in Hong Kong.

Shaplen is no stranger to Overseas Press Club awards. In 1965 his book *The Lost Revolution* won in its category, and in 1971 he received the OPC award for the "best magazine reporting from abroad," and in 1973 he won in the category for "the best article or report on Asia in any medium."

Shaplen earned degrees from the University of Wisconsin and Columbia University before joining the *New York Herald-Tribune* in the late 1930's. In 1943 he went to the

Pacific as a war correspondent for *Newsweek*, and following World War II became *Newsweek's* Far Eastern bureau chief. He began his writing for the *New Yorker* in 1943 with occasional contributions from Southeast Asia and the Far East, and for much of the last thirteen years he has covered the Far East for the magazine.

Shaplen has written numerous books, including two novels, *A Corner of the World* and *A Forest of Tigers*. His non-fiction works include *Kreuger: Genius and Swindler*; *Free Love and Heavenly Sinners*; *Towards the Well-Being of Mankind: The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*; *Time Out of Hand*; and *The Road from War: Vietnam 1965-1970*.

Class 12

Citation:

Tad Szulc, *Foreign Policy*, "Behind the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement."

CLASS 13

Best book on foreign affairs



CORNELIUS RYAN

"A Bridge Too Far"

Of all the dozens of tributes to the late Cornelius Ryan, perhaps one of the most eloquent was written by Theodore H. White, from which the following is excerpted: "Ryan was one of the great masters of the well-told story. He was one of those who brought to climax that particular American excellence in the Contemporary Narrative which marks our generation as distinctively as did the dominance of Hemingway, Faulkner and Wolfe. . . .

"Cornelius Ryan's *A Bridge Too Far* sweeps you off to adventure. The story begins softly with the sound of horses' hooves, church bells, village clatter in occupied Holland, on the banks of the Rhine. . . . The theme comes in now, hard. It is only sixty-four miles from the Allied bridgehead on the Dutch border to the Rhine crossing at the great bridge of Arnhem.

"A swoop, a dash, an ultimate act can grasp that road, seize that bridge, and once across the Rhine at Arnhem—the Ruhr lies naked. Germany can be gutted, the war closed. . . .

"The story of *A Bridge Too Far* is all story—but is also stunning history. His merciless treatment of Field Marshal Sir Bernard Law Montgomery is accompanied by Eisenhower's excoriating personal recollection of Montgomery's personality and generalship. . . . His reconstruction of the German responses comes not only from the German battle archives but their field commanders, down to brigade level.

"I, being burdened with professional obligations, must describe the book to you as both fine art and immaculate history. But that is not the reason for reading *A Bridge Too Far*. It is to be read simply because it delights the heart and intrigues the mind, because it recalls and recreates a world that youth and gallantry would have made you proud to join."

Class 13

Citation:

John S. Service, Random House,
Lost Chance in China.

CLASS 14

Best cartoon on foreign affairs
(\$250 stipend from the *New York Daily News* and National
Cartoonist Society)



TONY AUTH
Philadelphia Inquirer

Uncle Sam lying on a bed of nails depicted as oil derricks

As with most of our best cartoonists, Tony Auth began his career very early—at the age of five.

Born in Akron, Ohio, Auth was raised in Southern California and graduated from UCLA in 1965. He is now thirty-two years old. He began his artistic career as a medical illustrator for the Rancho Amigos Hospital, a teaching hospital affiliated with the University of Southern California.

It was during his work as a medical illustrator that he began doing political cartoons for newspapers, and in 1967 he drew one cartoon a week for *Open City*, a Los Angeles-based

antiwar weekly. In 1968 he began providing three drawings a week for the *UCLA Daily Bruin*, and these cartoons were used widely in other college newspapers.

About this time, Auth's cartoons came to the attention of such newspapers as the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Chicago Tribune*. In 1971 the *Inquirer* hired him as staff editorial cartoonist and he is now a member of the editorial board of Philadelphia's morning newspaper.

Auth draws five cartoons per week for the *Inquirer*, and his work is distributed nationally by the *Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate*. He lives in Philadelphia.

Class 14

Citation:
Robert Englehart, *Ft. Wayne Journal & Gazette*, "Solzhenitsyn and Brezhnev."

CLASS 15

Best business news reporting from abroad
(\$500 stipend from the Bache Company)



PHILIP WRIGHT WHITCOMB
Christian Science Monitor

General excellence in business coverage from abroad

Philip Wright Whitcomb, who writes on business and economics from Paris, is a native of Topeka, Kansas, and a graduate of Washburn University and Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

He received a distinguished service award from the American Chamber of Commerce in Germany for promoting German-American economic relations.

Whitcomb served for many years as a member of the board of directors of the American Chamber of Commerce in

France, and has been a correspondent for many American newspapers, both in Europe and Africa.

Whitcomb has been writing for the *Christian Science Monitor* since 1954.

Based in Paris, he is now a member of the Anglo-American Press Association and of the Overseas Press Club of America. He won the OPC Fairchild Award for business news reporting from abroad in 1969.

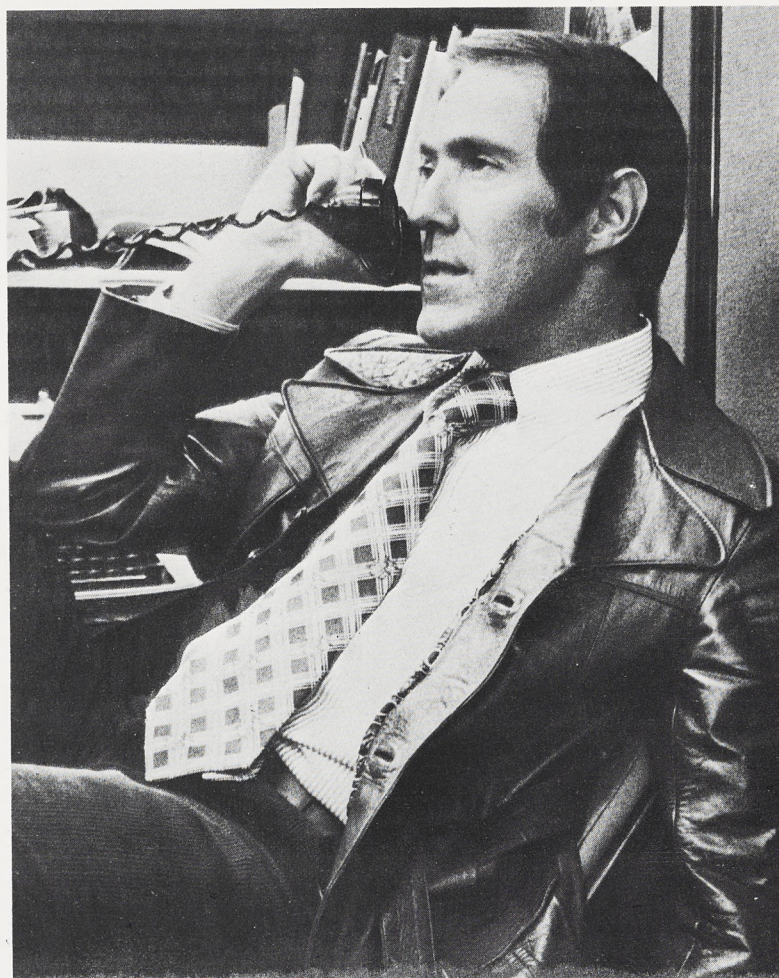
Class 15

Citation:

Noel Mostert, *New Yorker*, "Super-Tankers."

CLASS 16

Best article or report on Latin America in any medium



WILLIAM WATERS
Arizona Daily Star

"Mexico—The Uneasy Neighbor"

Bill Waters, public affairs editor of the *Arizona Daily Star*, spent nearly two months gathering material in Mexico for his series, "Mexico—the Uneasy Neighbor." The series attracted widespread attention following publication, and Waters was invited back to Mexico for talks with various cabinet-level officials who had been "too busy" to see him during his first reporting venture there.

For all of its progress in recent decades, Mexico today is the scene of discontent, from the student activists and agrarian reformers on the left to the industrialists and land barons on the right. Until the Waters series, however, little had been said about the unrest on the right, about Mexican

millionaires sending their families—and their pesos—out of the country, fearing the violence they felt the Echeverria administration was condoning. It was this angle that Waters chose to explore in his series.

Waters, who is fluent in Spanish, was born in Brisbee, Arizona, in 1941, has a law degree from the University of Arizona, spent two years in Peru as a Peace Corps volunteer, and writes a weekly column on Latin America. His previous experience includes working as a reporter for the Salt Lake City *Desert News*, as a newsman for KVOA-TV, and as a sportswriter and finally city editor of the *Arizona Daily Star* before being named public affairs editor last August.

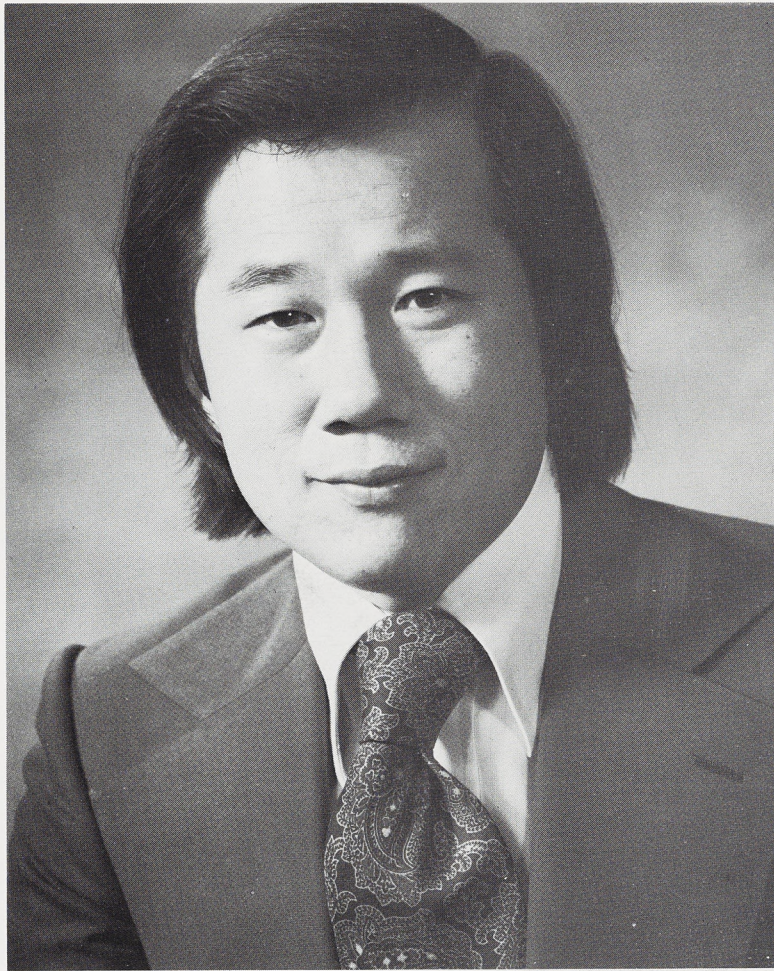
Class 16

Citations:

Don Bohning, *Miami Herald*, "The Ins and Outs of Panama"; and Joe Stroud, *Detroit Free Press*, Five-part series on Latin America.

CLASS 17

Best article or report on Asia in any medium



H. EDWARD KIM
National Geographic

"A Rare Look at North Korea"

Born in Seoul in 1940, H. Edward Kim graduated from high school there and came to the United States in 1960 to attend New York University as a psychology major.

He transferred to East Texas State University in 1963 and switched his major to journalism, later attending the University of Missouri School of Journalism for graduate work and earning the school's "exceptional achievement" award in 1966.

Kim joined the staff of *National Geographic* magazine in 1967 and currently is layout and production editor. His other awards include "Picture Editor of the Year" in 1970.

Kim, who lives in Washington is a member of the National Press Photographers Association, the Kappa Alpha Mu photojournalism fraternity, and the Washington Press Club. He also is on the faculty of the University of Missouri School of Journalism.

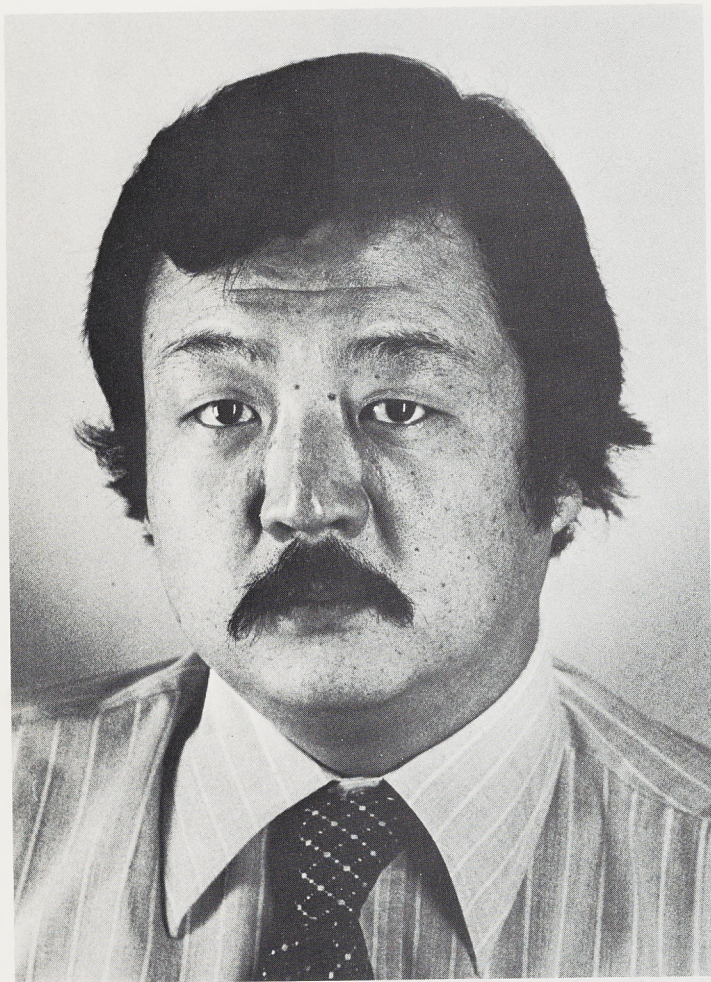
Class 17

Citations:

Peter Kann, *Wall Street Journal*,
"Bangladesh—Land of Despair"; and
Norman Pearlstine, *Wall Street Journal*,
"Joining Forces, a report on a joint
Japanese-American business venture."

CLASS 18

Madeline Dana Ross Award for international reporting showing a concern for humanity. (Any medium)



K. KENNETH PAIK
Kansas City Times



HARRY JONES, JR.
Kansas City Star

"African Drought: A Stark Reality—Life Must Go On"

Korean born K. Kenneth Paik is photo editor of the *Kansas City Times*, the morning edition of the *Kansas City Star*. The thirty-four-year-old Paik has been a member of the *Times* staff since 1969.

Paik served two years in the Korean Marine Corps as a photographer following his graduation from Yonsai University with a degree in political science. He later studied journalism at the University of Wisconsin, and has done two years of graduate work in photojournalism at the University of Missouri.

Prior to joining the *Times*, Paik was a photographer for the Coffeyville, Kansas, *Journal* and the Kansas City *Kansan*. He is married and has two children.

Harry Jones, the writer and reporter on the African drought series which has won this year's Overseas Press Club

Madeline Dana Ross Award, is a Kansas City native. A graduate of Beloit College in Wisconsin, Jones began work as a reporter for the *Kansas City Star* in 1950, served in the U.S. Navy, and returned to the *Star* in 1956.

Jones concentrates on reporting on public affairs, with emphasis on politics and organized crime. He was cited by the American Political Science Association in 1963 for articles on the Kansas City elections. He also is the author of *The Minutemen*, published by Doubleday.

Jones is married and has one son. His awards so far this year include the Silver Gavel Award of the American Bar Association for reporting on the federal penal system and prison reform.

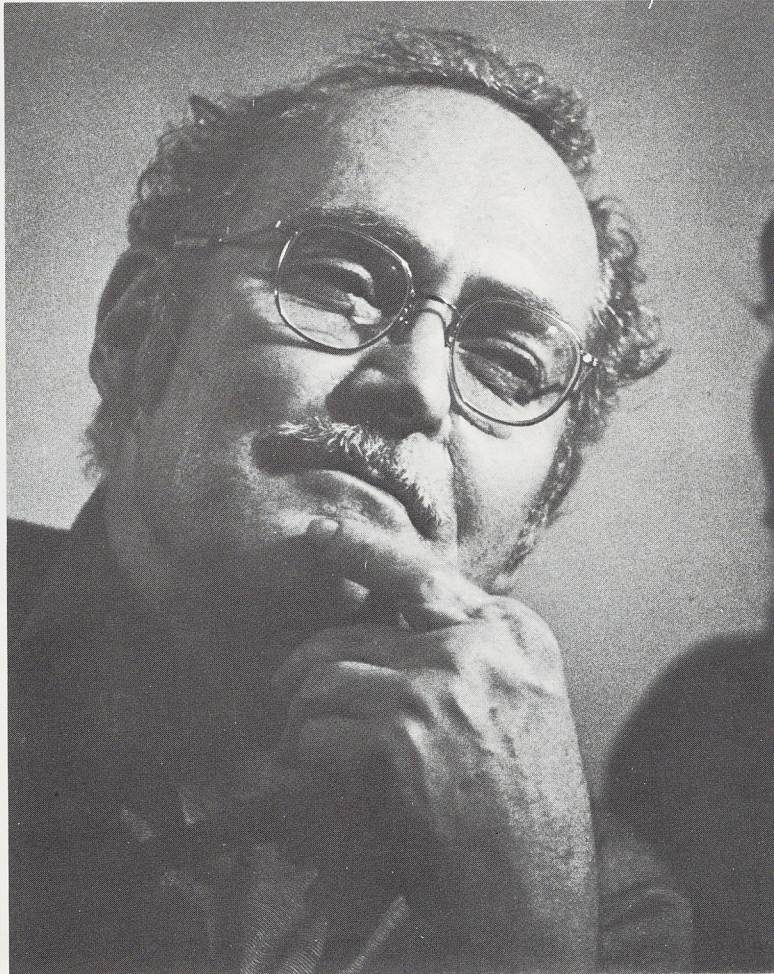
Class 18

Citations:

Robert Northshield, Len Giovannitti, and John Chancellor, for NBC White Paper, "And Who Shall Feed This World?" and George Watson, ABC-TV, "Simon Weisenthal—A Conscience for Our Times."

CLASS 19

Robert Capa Gold Medal (LIFE) for superlative still photography from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise



W. EUGENE SMITH
Camera 35

"Minimata, Japan: Life—Sacred and Profane"

W Eugene Smith's photographs of World War II—recording the bloody invasions of Tarawa, Guam, and Iwo Jima—and his exceptional photojournalistic essays rank him among the greatest living photographers.

For nearly three years Smith and his Japanese-American wife Aileen (who receives a special citation for her contribution to the Minimata story) have lived in the Japanese fishing village of Minimata, where they became involved in exposing and photographing the death and anguish caused by mercury poisoning of residents who ate fish from the polluted waters.

On July 7, 1972, during a protest against the Chisso Corporation, a chemical company that had been dumping industrial waste into the Minimata waters, Smith was severely beaten by six men and as a result of his injuries he is now almost entirely blind. He has suffered intense pain.

Smith was beaten while he and his wife and some of the victims of the poisoning at Minimata were waiting to see a union leader at Chisso. He was surrounded, kicked in the stomach and then slammed across a chair. Six men grabbed his legs and swung him—"like a cat," he says—onto the cement courtyard. He landed on his neck and his assailants jumped on him.

Photographers and other friends raised money and obtained the necessary documents to fly Smith back to the United States for treatment of smashed vertebrae in his neck which have pinched nerves and a blood vessel, preventing the flow of blood to his eyes and affecting the muscles that control the fingers of his left hand.

Pain is not a stranger to Smith, who is fifty-five years old. He has survived six plane crashes and was severely wounded at Okinawa.

Class 19

Citation:

Aileen Smith, *Camera 35*, "Minamata—Life, Sacred and Profane."

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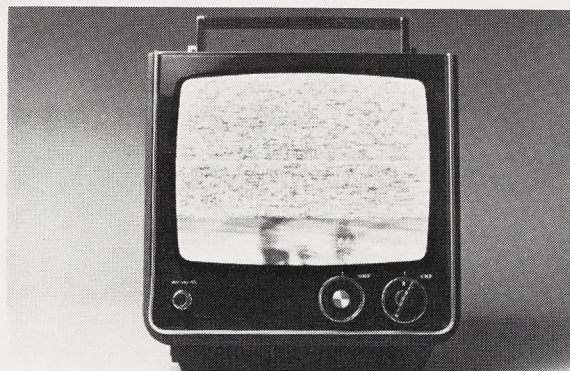


The real

The news media, both broadcast and print, continue to be the center of controversy. Have they gone too far or aren't they going far enough?

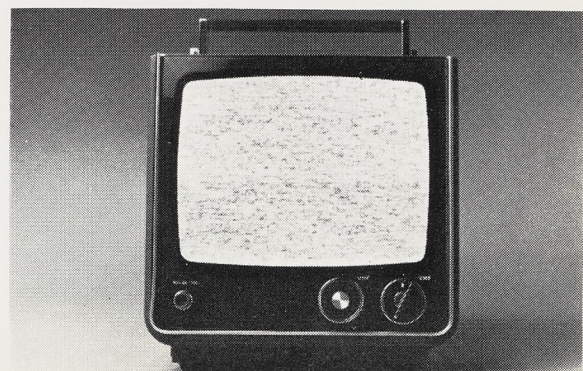


The very heart of a democracy is an open free-flow of information. Without it, our system of government cannot exist. A non-informed electorate is no electorate at all. Without freedom to investigate and report the news from every angle, the members of the press become corporate and government spokesmen. We must keep the channels of communication open to all, even when it hurts.



The ideal

An open society in which information is passed freely back and forth.
The more we know, the better off we are.



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